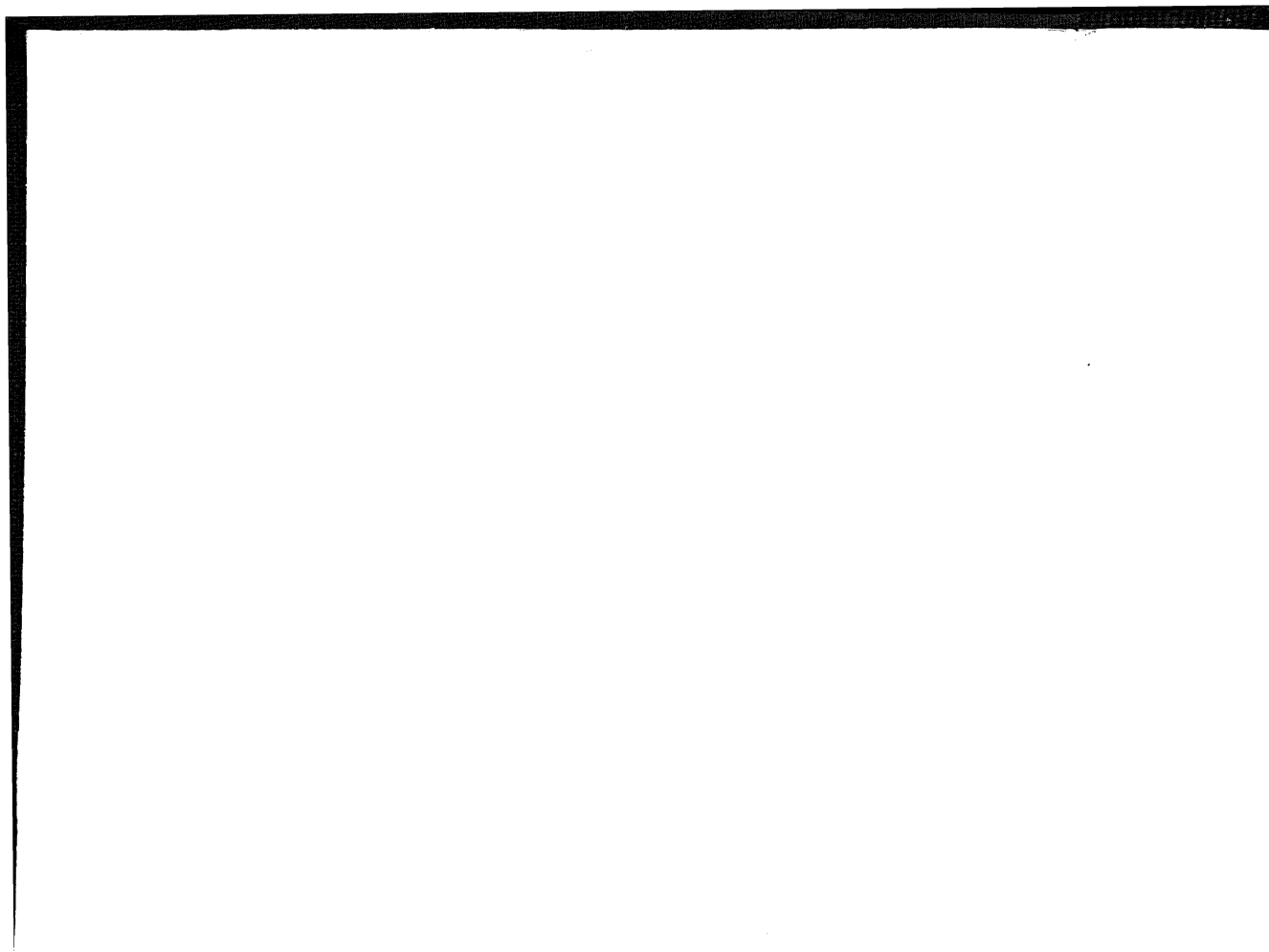


ART OF THE WORLD

EUROPEAN CULTURES

THE HISTORICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL

AND RELIGIOUS BACKGROUNDS



THE ART OF CLASSICAL GREECE

BY

KARL SCHEFOLD



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Translator's note on the spelling of Greek names. For most well-known people and places the familiar Latinized form has been used, e.g., Aeschylus rather than Aischylos; but for the painters, sculptors and architects themselves a transliteration somewhat closer to the original Greek has been preferred, e.g., Polykleitos rather than Polyclitus.

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INTRODUCTION

On the surface, contemporary life is far removed from that of the classical age, but deep down there is at work a spiritual movement which is bound up with the classical period and looks forward to the future. Goethe described the origin of this movement in *Winckelmann und sein Jahrhundert* ('Winckelmann and his Century'). Winckelmann was not concerned with mere classicism, but with the sort of 'Homeric life' which he led with his friends. Thus we meet this movement again not where the externals of the classical period are imitated, but where its essential nature is understood. Hölderlin is obsessed by the reality of the old gods; Rodin frees sculpture from architecture, to which it had been enslaved since the time of the Romans; Hans von Marées, in the spirit of Goethe, sees archetypes of existence. A whole century of scholarship was nourished by this movement. Perhaps this century's greatest contribution was not simply to disinter the Greek originals, but to see them afresh with eyes sharpened by Impressionism. Above all, great poetry has always been near to the classical age. Thus in Germany and Austria the leaders of the spiritual movement were Stefan George and Hugo von Hofmannsthal. Thanks to them, many people began to penetrate deeper into the religious content of the classical concept and to see their lives in a new light.

Winckelmann had attempted to demonstrate the classical period's importance as an exemplar, an idea which hitherto had simply been accepted as a dogma. This demonstration has acquired fresh significance since the publication in 1899 of Heinrich Wölfflin's book, *Classical Art*. Although Wölfflin's starting point was the Renaissance, basically he was more concerned to see classical art as an attitude to life. Consequently his influence has extended far beyond the domain of the history of art. The most important archaeological investigations of the last generation aimed at acquiring a deeper understanding of the classical age. Buschor has indicated its central position in world history. Yet up to now there has been no book devoted solely to classical art.

This first monograph could only be a historical synthesis. The necessary selection of material had to be interpreted and arranged so as to emphasize what is important and to make it comprehensible chronologically. No more than samples of the abundance of miniature metalwork can be given; the same is true of coins, whose perfection will give some idea of the art of the gem-cutter and the jeweller. The black and white drawings are only intended to act as reminders of well-known works, and even the colour plates can only illustrate the text; they can give no real idea of the wealth of classical art. I prefer to imagine the reader as standing in front of the originals at Athens, Delphi and Olympia.

We give the name 'classical' to the century of the great tragic poets Aeschylus (525-456 B.C.), Sophocles (497-406) and Euripides (484-406), and also to the century of Plato (427-347 B.C.), Aristotle (384-322) and the two great orators Isocrates (436-338) and Demosthenes (384-322). In this we follow the ancient

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APPX. PL. I

Greek philologists, who put the high-water mark of Attic poetry in the fifth century B.C. and the high-water mark of Attic prose in the fourth. The fifth century is known as the mature classical period, the fourth as late classical.

Nor, in the judgement of the Greeks, did the fine arts reach their classical zenith at the same time. In sculpture the greatest admiration was reserved for Myron, Pheidias and Polykleitos, who flourished from about 460 to 420, although Praxiteles and Lysippos, the great sculptors of the fourth century, were also highly esteemed. In painting, preference was given to the later masters of Alexander the Great's time, especially Protogenes and Apelles. Thus our predecessors, the Greek historians of literature and art, distinguished different phases of the classical period. We can only wonder at this historical understanding. With incredible genius the Greeks picked out what was significant and held fast to the great works which among other peoples either go unrecognized or else are submerged in the flood of mediocrity.

But our view of the relationship between the classical age and the early and late periods is not the same as that taken by the Greeks and their classicistic successors. To them the archaic period seemed imperfect and the post-classical period one of decline. Today we regard the difference as a difference of style, not of worth. We see pre-classical, archaic Greek art not as a preliminary stage but rather as a sort of youth, and to the Greeks youth was the prime of life. But the comparison should not be pushed too far; no one would want to regard the Hellenistic age – the age of Alexander the Great – which followed the classical period as the old age of Greek art.

Description will enable us to grasp more precisely the relationship between the pre-classical period and the classical age proper. Even in the geometric style, which dominates the first third of the history of Greek art (1000–700 B.C.), we meet fundamental Greek characteristics in a homely greatness that has never been excelled – the ordered structure, the universe of breathing plastic life – in the swelling of the forms and in the pulsation of the rhythmical ornamentation. Here already there is a logic, a structure which has broken free from ancient irrational bonds. The clarity and consistency of geometric composition appears as something completely new in the world. But it retains a certain light, a sort of air of freboding, that begins only about 700 to give way to the firmer structure of archaic art. To the universe which geometric art had sketched in outline archaic art gives monumental form in the free disposition of limbs and pillars, in its picture of the unchanging divine Being that supports all life. In the late archaic period elastic matching of the elements of the image starts to approach classical unity, until, about 500, the archaic structure loosens up. From then onwards organic vision and perspective not only governed Greek art but also influenced the Far East via Persia and India.

About 500 Heraclitus sharply criticized the archaic view of life, for, he said, life was something moving; motion was the very essence of existence. One's foot never stepped in the same wave twice; life was ceaselessly changing. The motionless archaic statues of the gods were like walls made out of blocks of stone. He derided men who worshipped such gods; they might as well, he said, worship

walls. Classical art answers criticism of this sort by seeing the world no longer as a tectonic structure but as an organically functional continuum. Perspective is discovered as a means to unified design. Moving figures of the archaic period do not disclose how the movement takes place; it is not until the classical period that art allows us to understand movement as interplay of the limbs. In archaic art, even movement is a state; in classical art, we see existence itself as motion. Thus it becomes possible to grasp every shape, according to its own law and structure, according to its own destiny, as free Being making its appearance in time. Hitherto the individual had been a member of a firmly constructed timeless order. From the classical period onwards the tensions between constraint and freedom, Being and time, ceaselessly pose new problems.

Homer had depicted legend as reality. There was still no difference between legend and history. Achilles and Heracles were seen as real figures, with whom one lived as with people of one's own period. In tragedy, on the other hand, the hero is subject to his fate. When we see a play about Antigone we know that she must suffer the consequences of her actions. The destiny of the tragic hero is fulfilled with a necessity which inexorably distinguishes him from the immortals, who are not subject to destiny; his earthly limitations are revealed whether he perishes, like Antigone, or is saved, like Philoctetes.

In the century of tragedy historians begin to explain the present from the past, and to distinguish between legend and history. The understanding of individual destiny brings with it the consciousness of the freedom of the individual, but also the responsibility implicit in such freedom. The radiant features of late archaic statues of gods and men reflect trust in a divinely ordered world. With the change to the classical style about 500 B.C. this gaiety suddenly disappears and gives way to a deep seriousness.

However, if we can speak of the 'manly seriousness' of classicism and compare it with the 'youthful radiance' of the archaic period, the comparison with stages of life is no longer valid when we turn from the classical to the Hellenistic period. In the Acts of the Apostles (vi, 1) Hellenists are described as Jews who have adopted the Greek language and Greek culture. Droysen therefore christened the period beginning with Alexander's expedition the Hellenistic period, that is, the period during which neighbouring peoples began to adopt Greek ways. Since Droysen's time we have learnt that the Greeks deeply influenced neighbouring peoples even in the archaic period; this influence affected the Persians, the Scythians, the Celts, the Etruscans, the Iberians and even the Egyptians. Alexander's expedition was the climax rather than the beginning of the spread of Greek ideas to the east. Moreover, it has become clear that the blending of Greek and oriental ways was not really completed until the Roman period. It had been typical of the Greeks to understand themselves and to bring their neighbours as well to a deeper understanding of their own way of life. Thus the Greeks helped the Persians to find appropriate means of expression for themselves in their art. In the Hellenistic age the inhabitants of the newly founded Greek cities and the native populations of the conquered countries lived side by side, but for the most part they did not mix as Alexander had wished. The great king himself belongs spiritually to the

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classical period. He fulfilled what Attic classicism had established, what Isocrates in particular had taught: Greek – Attic – culture, as the highest human possibility, was brought to the neighbouring peoples. The Hellenistic age as we define it today, from the death of Alexander to the destruction of Carthage, is a reaction to classicism and to Alexander's campaign rather than a fulfilment of Alexander's ideas.

The boundaries of the classical period, which we have fixed at about 500 and after the death of Alexander, often go unrecognized because the archaic and Hellenistic styles are not usually defined so precisely as we have tried to define them here.

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55, 57

In the work of the great vase-painters of the early fifth century, such as the Kleophrades and the Panaitios painters, we can observe the breaking up of archaic tectonics. Nor can their contemporaries, the Brygos painter, Douris, the Berlin painter, Makron and Onesimos, who are among the greatest draughtsmen of any age, any longer be described as archaic. The firm structure of the ashlar wall starts to slip, and with the beginnings of the inner unity of the figure completely new possibilities open up. Political history confirms these dividing lines. The earnestness of a new freedom and responsibility characterizes the young Attic democracy, which Cleisthenes had founded in 510 after the expulsion of the tyrants. This classical form of state lasted until it was honourably defeated by Philip II of Macedon at the battle of Chaeronea in 338; indeed it lived on after this until in 322 B.C., in the confusion following Alexander the Great's death, Athens passed under Macedonian rule. That was the real end of the classical period.

But if it is thus possible to separate the classical from the archaic and the Hellenistic, we must not forget what binds all three periods together. The mighty fabric of the archaic is the presupposition for the classical understanding of this fabric; without Homer there would be no tragedy. The archaic philosophers had enquired after the *arche*, the source, the nature of existence. This question is answered by the thinkers of the classical period, by Empedocles, Anaxagoras and Democritus, and finally, on a fresh plane, by Aristotle. Thus archaic exploration and classical comprehension are closely connected.

If in the question of Being the classical period means perfection, it signifies only the beginning in the other great Greek question, which Socrates and his school pose, namely, what ought we to do? We shall have to confront late classical and Hellenistic art with this question and we shall receive bold answers. But the final answer came only with the Gospel, which summons us to a new life in the spirit. Thus with Socrates' question about the meaning and object of life the classical period points the way to a distant future. The classical centuries are the fulfilment of history. They perfect the legacy of the archaic and point to all future ages, including the one which lies before us today. Heinrich Wölfflin called the high Renaissance 'classical' because its plastically linear style renews that of the Greek late classical period. The two periods share the renunciation of any attempt at

PLATE P. 16

PLATE I – Maiden: Votive offering of Euthydikos. About 480 B.C. *Athens, Acropolis Museum. Height 23 1/2 in. Cf. pp. 13, 24, 73.*





illusion, the clear articulation of picture and figure, the clarity of the modelling, which conceals nothing and expresses everything it wants to on one level of harmonious beauty. Common, too, are the organic unity, which subordinates all subsidiary themes to the main ones, the ordered construction and sense of measure. Finally, and most fundamental of all, there is the divine beauty, the artist's confidence that in the perfect form there is to be found a reflection of the prototype of all humanity, of the divine itself. But we must not fail to recognize the differences. The Renaissance figure does not find the law that governs it in itself, as those of the Greek classical period do; it is part of a composition that is larger than the human figure alone. The axes of the composition and of the figures lend each other strength. The basic reason for this difference is that the citizen of the Latin West is embedded in the structure formed by society and the Church, while the Greek lives as a free man alongside the sanctuaries of his gods. Only since Winckelmann and Goethe has there been such freedom in the West again.

A second difference lies in the dichotomy of body and soul, which Latin, western art has never overcome. In the Greek body, on the other hand, every fibre, every gesture reflects a movement of the soul, in a way which today we find only in children and animals. In the adult person the natural charm is disturbed by the mind. When the soul restores the divine harmony, our highest feeling of happiness is aroused, whether it is in a beautifully shaped life or in a work of art. This highest possibility of form is fulfilled better in the classical period than in any other age. Having fixed the limits of the classical period and defined the phases into which it can be divided, we are now in a position to understand why Buschor could say that in the classical period the very essence of Hellenic culture is revealed. How did this wonder come about? Why was it that fifth- and fourth-century Greece in particular produced the phenomenon of classical art, a phenomenon unique in the history of the world? Wonders can never be explained, but we can at any rate distinguish seven factors which made classical art possible.

The first of these is the landscape. Land and sea interpenetrate each other with a clarity of contour whose forms are absolutely inexhaustible in their variety. Where the landscape shows its noblest character, there we find the most important artistic schools, for example in Attica, Aegina, Argos, Sparta, Paros and Samos. The plasticity of the forms is emphasized by the clear, strong light, which in that dry land is seldom dimmed. The healthy rigour of the climate has no debilitating softness, no extremes of heat and cold, no mist or damp, such as in other latitudes lead to the one-sided development of particular physical qualities. This connection between landscape and culture was first noted in a treatise on 'Air, Earth and Locality' attributed to Hippocrates, and Winckelmann fastened on to the theory.

The second factor is the healthy, noble nature of the Greeks, their physical constitution. The Greeks themselves noticed that their gaze differed from that of other peoples, that they had particularly beautiful eyes.

Prerequisites of classical art

PLATE 2 – Thanatos, Alcestis, Hermes and Persephone. Relief from the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. About 350 B.C. *London. Height 6 ft. Cf. pp. 14, 206.*

A sense of measure enabled them to avoid the distortions caused by overexertion and over-stimulation. Their bearing was upright and unimpaired by any kind of forced labour.

Third, the union of the original population with the Indo-European Hellenes was a happy marriage. The original population provided the artistic talent and the immigrants contributed a sense of logic and structure. Every civilization is based on such a marriage of peoples. In Hellas the two component races often went on living side by side for centuries and fertilized each other, for example in Sparta and in northern Greece.

Fourth, for all the variety to be found in the Greeks, they had a common set of values. We meet those values first in the hierarchy of Olympian gods, in the legends of gods and heroes as a whole, and finally in philosophy and the unanimously accepted concepts of law which guaranteed the sanctity of treaties and peace at the pan-Hellenic religious festivals. All these common values were not the result of compulsion by a unified state; they sprang from voluntary agreement. The variety of constitutions to be found in the different states corresponded to the variety of the landscape and of the peoples living in it; there were no divisions of religion and class as there are among us; people sought a common speech, honoured the same great poets and heroes, and were not swamped like other ages in the flood of mediocrity. This attitude finds monumental expression in the Greek shrines and in the friendly striving for perfection in physical development, in poetry, in architecture and in sculpture.

The fifth factor can well be described as natural good sense. Trade and enterprise brought the land of Greece, poor in itself, a certain prosperity, with reserves on which one could live. It was considered more sensible to enjoy what one had acquired than to pile up goods to no purpose. The circumstances of life remained limited and the settlements small; there was none of the hurry and bustle which is so hostile to art. Not being acquisitive, people gained that freedom from the externals of life which we admire in the exalted, festive lives of the characters in Plato's Dialogues. As an old song puts it:

Health is best for mortal man
And after that to be of good physique;
Third is prosperity, acquired without cunning,
And fourth to enjoy one's youth with friends.

As well as good sense, poetic and creative talents permeated the Greek's whole existence. These talents were in unique harmony with the creative forces which we recognize in nature. Life attains its perfection in form, and art has its share in the shaping of all aspects of life. This sixth postulate of classical art is explained by a seventh, the relationship with the divine powers. Other civilizations, which experienced the divine as something supernatural or abstract, sought supernatural forms in art too; typical results of this are the stiff stereometry of the ancient East and the shallow transcendence of the late antique. The Greeks saw the gods as the creative seeds of reality; as Goethe put it in a conversation with Caroline Herder

after his Italian journey, they regarded them as the pure characters out of which all the variety of reality sprang. The result was a scale of values precisely opposite to the modern one: in their private lives the Greeks lived modestly, but when it came to the shrines of the gods no expense was spared. It has been calculated that every cubic yard of the Propylaea cost about £ 80,000. It was not that costly materials were used to make a display; most of the expenditure was incurred in the artistic decoration. Gold and ivory were reserved for the cult statues of the gods.



FIG. 1 — Birth of Dionysus from Zeus's thigh. Lekythos by the Alkimachos painter in Boston. About 470 B.C. Height 17 in. Cf. p. 22.

I. THE EARLY CLASSICAL PERIOD

The change from the archaic to the classical style is one of the most important transformations in history. It can be most clearly recognized in painting after 500 B.C., but it affected all domains of life. It had been preceded in the political field by the changeover from the autocracy of the archaic period to classical democracy. In 510, after the expulsion of the tyrants, Cleisthenes gave Attic democracy the form which makes it appear the pattern of similar constitutions all over the world. The spiritual attitude behind this creation is reflected in art as well. The Greeks confronted the Persians with a new self-confidence and overcame them in the battles of 490 and 480/479 at Marathon, Salamis and Plataea. Epic and lyric poetry were archaic creations; after 500 the drama acquires the seriousness of tragedy. After the Persian Wars men gave up their lush archaic hair-styles, and from 480 onwards most women wore the heavy woollen peplos in place of the luxurious Ionian linen chiton.

Within the classical period itself we can distinguish four phases: early classical (500-450), mature classical (450-425), the rich style (425-380) and late classical (380-325). The mature and late classical styles achieve a legitimate compromise between the tensions which had appeared with the break-up of archaic tectonics; between constraint and freedom, Being and time, tectonic and static. The law of mature classical art is the harmonious resolution of these tensions, as expressed in the balance of Polykleitos' Doryphoros or the controlled movement of Myron's Diskobolos. In the rich style this compromise is impaired, in so far as the appearance is emphasized more than the essence, and the moment more than the law. The late classical style balances this over-accentuation of the temporal by including space in the composition for the first time, in so far as it laps the plastic form. We feel space as the epitome of timeless Being.

If time preponderates in the rich style, in the early classical period it is Being that is predominant. It was freshly understood as a conscious value, after archaic Being had broken up about 500. We can distinguish a sub-archaic phase from 500 to 480 and a severe style from 480 to 450. They differ formally in that at first the artists start from the archaic forms. Up to about 480 there are still statues of youths in the archaic attitude, even if the limbs already betray traces of a functional connection. The statue of a youth attributed by Furtwängler to Kritios, the sculptor of the Tyrant-slayer group, is the first one known to us which is free from this centuries-old constriction. The active right-hand side of the body, which had hitherto been tied back, as it were, is loosened, and the head is turned slightly to the right. Static being is replaced by latent free movement, which is also expressed in slight displacements of the shoulders and pelvis. The archaic pettiness has disappeared; big calm forms correspond to the gravity of the new freedom and responsibility. Such may have been the appearance of the young Sophocles, who

PLATES PP. 136, 141

APPX. PL. 29-43

PLATES PP. 16, 200

ETC.

PLATE P. 81

PLATES PP. 15, 36 ETC.

PLATES PP. 29,

31, 35, 59, 60, 65,

ETC.

APPX. PL. 3

is supposed to have taken part in the victory dance of the youths after the battle of Salamis.

When we compare vases painted before 480 with those painted afterwards, we find that the former are still archaic in the details. The archaic small-scale manner is still employed, even though the composition is new. The figures are not completely free; they give each other reciprocal support in a common structure that has certainly loosened up, but has not disintegrated. After 480 a new system of forms is built up out of elements with large surfaces to which the remains of archaic formulas are subordinated. Firm axes support the picture, which now gains a classic autonomy in place of the archaic tectonics and heteronomy.

A second difference goes deeper. As a result of the disintegration of archaic tectonics, about 500 B.C. painting gains an unparalleled lightness of movement. Maenads in early works of the Brygos painter flutter like butterflies. Greek art never again produced such a wealth of bold and strange movements as in these years. But artists immediately seem to realize what has been lost with archaic tectonics. Even before 480 one can notice an effort to consolidate the figures again, but this time by means of their own inner structure. The Boy by Kritios is free from archaic tectonics; here for the first time we can speak of classical static. The very erect figure has an inner firmness and is crowned by the head, to which everything else, even the bearing, is subordinated. The attitude thus appears as the expression of an inner constraint. This statue from the spoils of the Persian Wars must have been carved shortly before 480.

That the new style then spread quickly, that the archaic conventions were universally abandoned and that the years round 480 mark a particularly clear break in the history of style, is explained by the destruction of Athens by the Persians. The activity of the workshops was interrupted and a host of statues and paintings, of votive offerings in sanctuaries and on graves, smashed to pieces. The new vision of young artists had free scope. After 480 those who had previously led the field, artists such as the Kleophrades, the Berlin and Brygos painters and Douris, lose their freshness. The new possibilities of large-area compositions and stronger axes are grasped by younger masters like the Pisto Xenos, Pan and Altamura painters. The firm structure of their pictures makes the divine Being, which in the archaic period had been self-evident, into a conscious value. This reminds us of Parmenides, the great opponent of Heraclitus. While the latter had regarded motion as the essence of the world, Parmenides assigns this rôle to immobility. Characteristic of the age is Parmenides' vision of the sphere of existence rolled in upon itself in mighty rest. In the severe style the structure of axes and monumental forms is permeated more and more by fluid organic forces and finally in the mature classical style it is absorbed by these forces. In the ordered construction of the mature classical figure the firm and the fluid are joined in harmonious unity.

The transformation from the sub-archaic to the mature classical style is to be seen most clearly in the standing figure. The break-up of the tectonics after 500 is reflected in bold, free postures, in an almost weightless mode of standing, as exemplified by the Achilles on an amphora by the Kleophrades painter. Before setting out for battle the young warrior puts to his mouth the vessel from which

PLATES PP. 47, 59

PLATE P. 59

PLATES PP.
39, 55, 57

APPX. PL. 3

PLATES PP.
31, 59, 60
APPX. PL. 13, 15

PLATES PP.
66, 113, 115

FIG. 7

he has just poured a libation, and his ardour for the fight is indicated not only by the device on his shield but also by his whole attitude and bearing. Such a mobile stance was only possible because the old archaic two-dimensional approach still made its influence felt, because the figure did not yet have to be built up out of itself. In the second decade of the century the attitude is already more collected. The Heracles on the Basle amphora by the Berlin painter is also depicted pouring a libation. But now the standing and the free legs are separated and the body can be inscribed in a tall right-angle standing on its narrow side. It is no longer borne by the construction of the surface but by its own construction; one could speak of an autonomous tectonic structure. However, the 'static' aspect of standing is not yet visible, because limbs and garments still lie in archaic fashion on the surface.

PLATE P. 50

FIG. 1 The exquisite lekythos by the Alkimachos painter in Boston could well belong to the end of the third decade of the century. Zeus sits on a rock, far from his palace on Olympus, far from the jealous Hera, on his cloak; and naked, thin and worn from the labour of carrying him, he is bringing forth the young Dionysus from his thigh. He has given his sceptre to Hermes to hold; Hermes would prefer to run away from the uncanny event – he is half turning away – but he cannot leave his master and his master's sceptre, and glances back fascinated. These frontal views, with one foot seen from the front and the other from the side, occur again in the first half of the fifth century; but it is round about 470 that tectonic becomes static, that limbs and garments are modelled and become palpably distinct from each other, so that the supporting and weighing elements enter into powerful tension. There had been a tension in the construction of the two sides of the body, the so-called *contrapposto*, since the break-up of archaic tectonics about 500. Now the *contrapposto* turns into ponderation, the balancing of the weights of the two sides of the body. Corresponding contrasts characterize contemporary tragedy, for example in Aeschylus.

FIG. 2

FIG. 14 In the figure of Oenomaus on the east pediment of the temple at Olympia, which dates from about 460, the tall rectangle of the male figure has become a completely static shape. The right hand propped on the hip of the standing leg emphasizes that the right-hand side of the body bears the weight, while the left side is quite relaxed. The proud, severe attitude corresponds most of all to the conscious character of Being which we have described as an essential trait of the severe style, and which still makes its influence felt on the stele in the Vatican and the Niobid crater. This stylistic phase has been called that of static ponderation. About 450 the upward growth of the human form is understood as movement in search of a balance between rest and motion, Being and time. The severe attitude loosens up into an S-shaped swing of the body, which in the classical style is clarified into harmonious ponderation, most perfectly in the Achilles of Polykleitos. This marks the end of the early classical period, which had been characterized by the tension between rest and motion, Being and time.

PLATES PP. 66, 101

PLATES PP. 115, 136

The significance of the change in style around 500 can also be recognized in the abundance of new themes treated in the new, young classical manner. The gods are no longer seen in timeless Being but in mighty movement. Zeus the Saviour strides along hurling thunderbolts. Dionysus roves about in drunken enthusiasm,

FIG. 8

singing with head thrown back. Apollo appears for the first time with the lightness to which Leochares was to put the finishing touch in the Apollo Belvedere. When, in the picture on a hydria, Apollo soars over the sea in a tripod, the shattering of all external probability is consciously employed to increase the effect of the numinous; an archaic picture would have merely recorded the fact. The gods pursue the objects of their love – Zeus pursues Ganymede, for example; they are no longer tranquil pillars; they exert a powerful effect on the world. Now for the first time artists succeed not only in depicting an event at its climax, but also in tracing it from its hidden origin. There is therefore a fondness for showing the power which proceeds from divine children; Aphrodite, Persephone, Pandora, even Dionysus, emerge from the ground. Erotes and Nikai, hitherto rare, now personify in large numbers the inner motive forces. We see jumpers flying over the ground in the palaestra and discus-throwers whirling round, and other subjects appear which could only be attempted after the break-up of archaic tectonics. Soon a new calm, the magic of Eros, overcomes the actors. In feasting scenes one could almost fancy that the music was audible, and all the gestures testify to the invisible forces which activate the event from within. Sacrificial scenes become frequent and the gods themselves are depicted pouring libations. The significance of this in the progress of the Greeks towards monotheism has not so far been sufficiently noted.

The change of style which we have described can be fixed from a number of firmly dated monuments and other historical evidence. The break-up of archaic tectonics can be dated from the so-called 'love-names'. From the middle of the sixth century down to the second half of the fifth many vases bear inscriptions celebrating a much-admired youth in the spirit in which Socrates pays homage to the young Charmides in Plato. Youth is transitory, and the same boy is seldom named in the inscriptions for a whole decade, let alone longer. Thus vases with the same name on them can be placed in the same decade. A name that occurs particularly often is that of Leagros, who was an ephebus with Themistocles and met his death as a general in 465. The Leagros vases all seem to belong to the decade before 500. As a man, Leagros saw his own son Glaukon celebrated in similar fashion round about 470. We find the other members of famous families figuring in the inscriptions. Thus Euaion, celebrated around 455, was a son of the tragic poet Aeschylus. About 500 Panaitios, Athenodotos and Chairestratos make their appearance. It is on vases bearing these names that the transition from the archaic style to that of the fifth century begins.

A cup in Boston praising Athenodotos has been ascribed by Beazley to the painter whom Furtwängler christened the Panaitios painter after the contemporary favourite. On the inside there is a picture of a young boxer busy with one of the thongs which he is going to bind round his hands. On the ground lies a pick-axe to loosen up the soil and on the wall hang jumping-weights.

Archaic linear composition is still revealed in the expansion of the body and the sporting equipment; what is new is the energetic opposition, the *contrapposto* of the weight-bearing left side of the body and the mobile right side. Since the head follows the movement but the glance follows the weight-bearing axis, the contrast

PLATE P. 96

PLATES PP. 42, 50, 51

BASES OF
CHRONOLOGY

FIG. 2



FIG. 2 - Boxer ties on his thongs. Cup by the Panaitios painter in Boston. After 500 B.C. Diameter $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cf. p. 23.

PLATE P. 39

acquires an intellectual centre and appears no longer as archaic state but as inner event. The cup by Onesimos with the love-name Panaitios and the picture of the armed runner (*hoplitodromos*) goes somewhat further towards breaking up archaic stability. Here for the first time an everyday occurrence, the concern of a competitor with his helmet, becomes the picture of an adventure, as if the magic of object and body and victory had become an inner experience for the man. After the battle of Marathon (490) a goddess of victory was dedicated on the Acropolis. She once stood on an Ionic column, with great green- and red-feathered marble wings, gleaming golden jewels round her neck and a brass herald's staff in her right hand. Archaic art had depicted such feathered figures with bent knees in the so-called 'knee-run', and only connected to the base of the statue by the garment, so that the swift hurrying movement looked miraculous. The sculptor of this particular Victory makes her bend her knee only a little and unifies the figure in an upwards-striving movement, so that we experience the flashing appearance of victory as a demonic event. The raised left hand and the slight turning of the head to the right emphasize still further the momentary nature of the phenomenon. The whole thing was more pictorial than sculptural in character, like all the art of those decades, and so a comparison with the Maenad on a somewhat older bowl by Makron helps us to gain some idea of the original effect of this badly damaged work.

FIG. 3

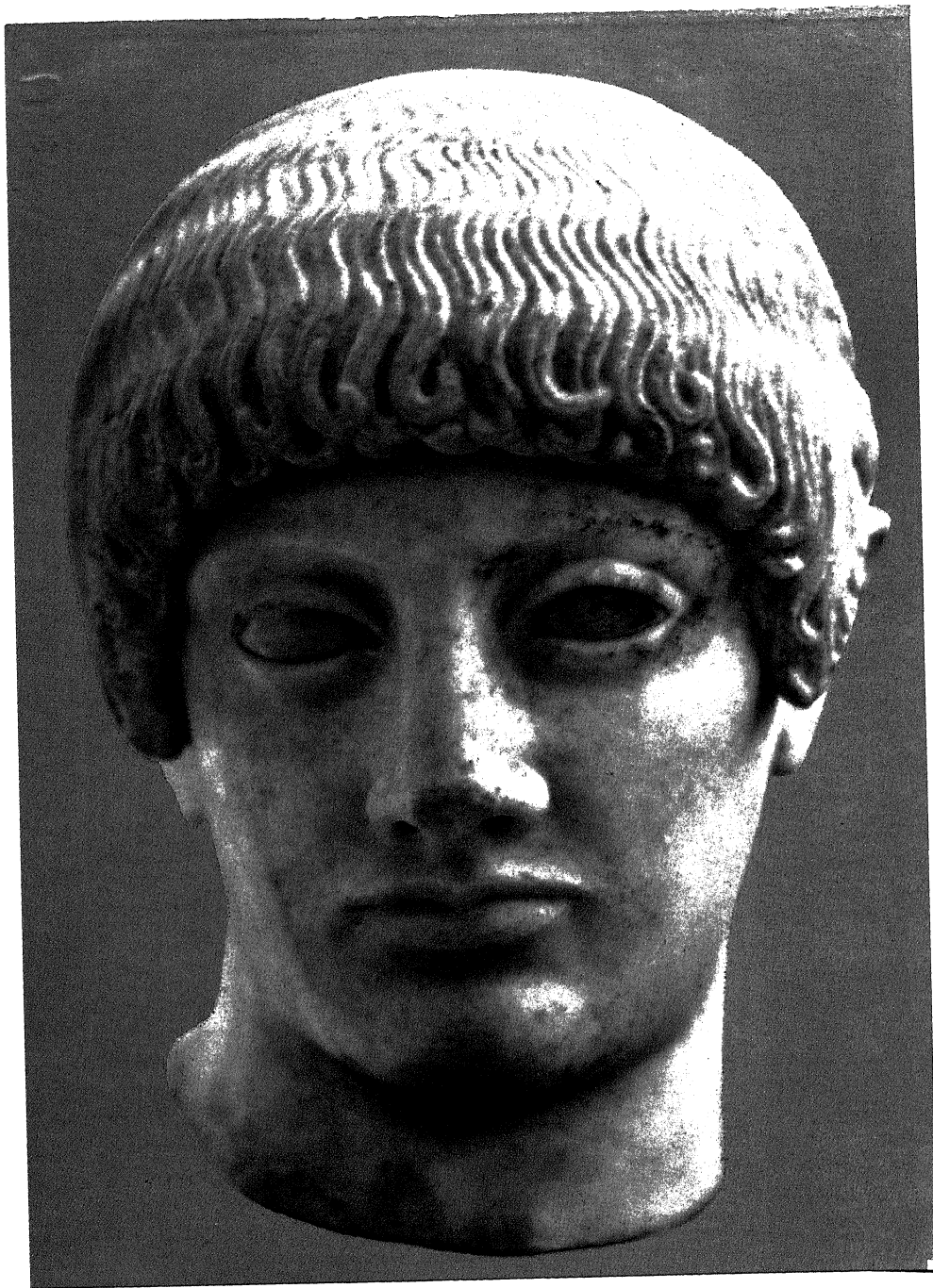
PLATE P. 57

APPX. PL. 3

PLATE P. 15

We have come to know Kritios' youth (the Critian Boy) as an example of the consolidation of the second decade. A new autonomous structure is achieved in place of the old archaic one. We meet firmness and thickness of volume again in the maiden dedicated by Euthydikos. The legs are kept in the archaic stepping-out

PLATE 3 - So-called 'Fair-haired Head'. About 480 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Height 10 in. Cf. p. 26.



position, with the left one advanced, on a strong, severe base. The middle part of the body is missing, but was still clothed in the archaic fashion in a chiton and slanting himation. The right arm was held out in front with a votive gift, while the left lifted the hem of the chiton. On the border of the left sleeve teams of four horses moving to the right were painted and on the neck of the chiton and on the headband a meander; the irises and lips were a brighter red, the hair a darker red. Through the venerable old motifs and poses streams new life, which renounces decorative details and archaic brightness but swells out in rich, full forms and lends the countenance that unique, unforgettable earnestness, as if it were now consciously realized for the first time what it meant to present young life to the dispenser of all happiness among the Attic people. Never before had the preciousness of human beauty been captured with such a conscious sense of responsibility, never had the glance been kept so controlled and serious.

PLATE P. 25

Of the other works found among the spoils of the Persian Wars on the Acropolis, and created shortly before their destruction, the most important is the youth whose fair-haired head and trunk have been preserved. The colours have lasted exceptionally well; the yellowish brown of the hair and short side-whiskers and the black pupils in their yellow, black-edged irises are still quite recognizable. The pelvis, which we cannot illustrate here, is energetically twisted and slants down to the right. The right leg therefore carried no weight and was somewhat advanced, as in the Critian Boy, while the head is inclined a little more to the right.

APPX. PL. 3

PLATE P. 81

Compared with the relaxed charm of the Kritios statue the heavy, athletic build of the youth is somewhat surprising. The sculptor came from the Peloponnese; indeed Buschor sees in this youth an early work of the master responsible for the Olympia sculptures. However, he has absorbed a good deal of Attic influence. In the free stance with the right leg advanced he could well be indebted to Kritios' fresh vision. The hair-style too is Attic-Ionic: over the forehead and temples the hair is cut short for the sacrifice at the youth's consecration, and from the nape of the neck two intertwining pig-tails are brought forward under the front hair. Attic above all is the directness with which these eyes gaze at us, from under heavy lids, beneath eyebrows swelling wilfully towards the sides and beneath the shadowing splendour of the hair. Precisely because the radiant assurance of the archaic gaze has given way to a deeper understanding, the essence of the severe style seems nearer and more accessible to us. Nose and chin are powerful and heavy, the cheeks taut, and the lower lip stubbornly pushed out under the sensitive curve of the upper lip. The seriousness of responsibility, which we know from Kritios, has been deepened into the demonic experience of character in the spirit of Heraclitus' saying, *ETHOS ANTHROPO DAIMON*: individual nature determines in demonic fashion the fate of man. We can see in the boy the manly spirit awaking, the dream that precedes the deed. This tragic conditionality gives a new weight to the relationship with the goddess to whom the statue is dedicated.

The Critian Boy, the fair-haired Ephebus and the last *korai* must have been produced at almost the same time, shortly before 480, for the vast majority of the works of the eighties are still sub-archaic, like the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina (Appendix plates 5, 6). The bold way in which Kritios and his comrades

freed themselves from the sub-archaic can be compared with the daring of Themistocles and the Athenians who achieved the victory of Salamis. After 480 we soon find all over Greece the great new way of seeing surfaces and masses. After the victory over the Carthaginians at Himera (480), King Gelon of Syracuse had unusually big commemorative ten-drachma coins struck, which were called *demareteia*, after his wife (plate p. 29). To provide the gold for these coins Demarete had donated the golden garland she had received from the Carthaginians in thanks for her care of the prisoners and ambassadors. The monumental build of Arethusa, nymph of the fountain, on the reverse of the demareteion is familiar to us from works found among the spoils of the Persian Wars: the three-dimensional volume, the strong chin, the firm delineation of mouth, nose and eyes, the softly waving, loose hair which falls down the forehead to meet the high-curving eyebrow and is as well suited to the proud, imperious gaze as the energy of nose, mouth and chin. The dolphins playing round the nymph make her appear larger than life and also give atmosphere to the surface of the picture.

The severe Athenian style was swiftly carried to the Greek West by the famous bronze-casters of Aegina, who worked for the Sicilian tyrants. After the foundation of the town of Aetna on the slopes of the volcano in 476 a four-drachma piece was struck with the head of Silenus on the obverse and Zeus on his throne on the reverse. In the Silenus the energy and volume of the demareteion are transformed into full, swelling, Ionic forms, but the firm, Doric structure is not lost. The Sileni of Magna Graecia and Ionia are not subservient creatures like the Attic ones, but independent forces. The Silenus of Aetna calls to mind the mysterious, terrifying, destructive power of that volcanic district (Appendix plate 9).

A third commemorative coin was struck on the occasion of the Naxians' return to their native island after 461; the obverse shows the ivy-crowned head of Dionysus, and the reverse a squatting Silenus seen from the front, with the kantharos in his raised right hand. He is turning towards a companion in his revels, who may be the god himself (plate p. 29; Appendix plate 10). The work belongs to the period of static ponderation. The strong axes are instinct with organic forces which do not loosen them but rather emphasize them and thus lend the picture a proud strength. By means of Dionysus' hair-style and his curious smile the artist evokes the venerable god of ancient times. He thus combines new fullness and strength with mysterious impenetrability. The happily intoxicated Silenus of the reverse seems to catch sight of his master. The bold landscape is based on a parallelogram, whose sides can be most clearly discerned in the left arm and thigh of Silenus and with which other diagonals make a sharp contrast. Some of them rise in bold physical perspective from the surface. Such bold bracing of the axes had been possible since 480; what is new is the way in which they are permeated by organic forces in the chiasmic, or X-shaped structure of the body. To us such a picture almost gives an impression of space. However, we shall see later that when

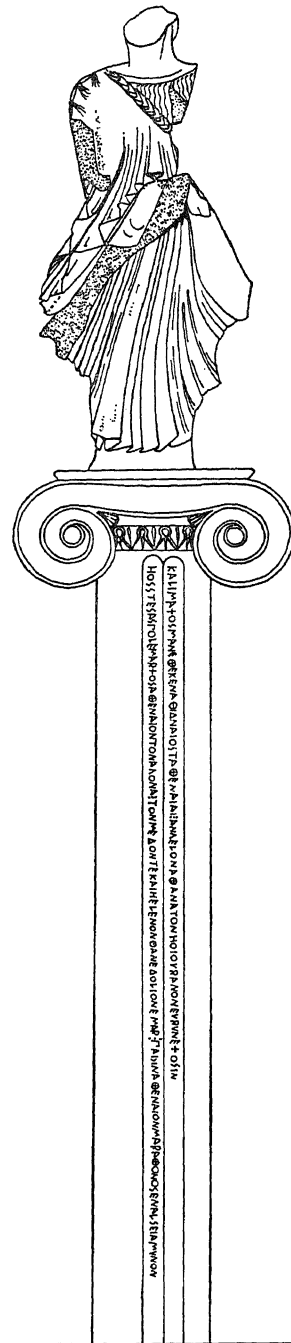


FIG. 3 — Marble statue of Nike, dedicated after the battle of Marathon. 490 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Height 4 ft. 8½ in. Cf. p. 24.

art really wishes to represent space it employs other means. The early classical style is just as concerned as archaic art with the tangible, in which it expresses all its experience. Indifference to intangible space is one of the wonders of those periods. One can see how much this subtle two-dimensional art is indebted to painting.

FIG. 4 Strong bracing of the axes first occurs in monumental form in the Tyrant-slayers, a group which dates from 476 and is the work of Kritios and Nesiotes. In 514, at the Panathenaic festival, Harmodius and Aristogiton had attempted to murder Hippias, the tyrant of Athens. The plot misfired; only Hippias' brother, Hipparchus, fell by the sword of Harmodius, and the two friends had to pay for their courage with their lives. But the deed became the inspiration for the liberation of Athens, which was successfully accomplished only a few years later, in 510. Songs celebrating the deed, and sung in secret immediately after it, remained for centuries on the lips of the Athenians. Among the honoured tombs along the road to the Academy, those of the Tyrant-slayers are the oldest. Regular sacrifices were made at the grave of the two friends and the first statues of them must have been erected in the market-place soon after 510, for the Harmodius motif appears on vases and on the Athenian treasury before 500. The sculptor of the first group was Antenor, the leading master of late archaic Athens.

What importance this symbol of freedom possessed can be seen from the fact that when the Persian king, Xerxes, carried it off to his capital, Susa, in 480 the Athenians soon replaced it – in 476 – with a bronze replica by Kritios and Nesiotes, a work of which we possess Roman copies in marble. Harmodius is the protagonist, Aristogiton his assistant. Since Harmodius needs cover from his friend and the figure of the latter is built up in complete antithesis to his, the group gains a previously unparalleled inner unity of author and assistant, loved and lover. The deed seems to be founded on this inner unity and to follow from the demonic nature of the pair, from their freedom, which is in tragic opposition to the traditional order.

The group stolen by the Persians can only have been built up by addition in the archaic fashion. There was still no sign of the unifying stream of life which makes the movement in Kritios' group seem the expression of tremendous will-power. Nevertheless, the Harmodius motif was to form the seed of classically unified design. If Kritios had not been given the task of replacing the older group he might have drawn the heroes together more closely to form a plastic unity, after the style of the group of Zeus and Ganymede at Olympia.

PLATE P. 96

Our restoration of Kritios' work rests on the only reproduction that shows it on a base, that is, as a group. The testimony of this vase-painting is all the more important because it comes from the rich style, from a grave dated 394. At that time artists usually preferred to depict the Tyrant-slayers in an overlapping group, in accordance with the prevailing taste for the picturesque. These new versions in the spirit of the rich style also departed from the original by putting Harmodius – although he was the protagonist – behind his comrade, for decorative reasons. Thus in reconstructing the group we can call only on this one vase-painting which shows the pair arranged in the style of a relief.



PLATE 4 - *Above*: Dionysus on a silver four-drachma coin from Naxos. After 464 B.C. For the reverse see Appx. pl. 10. *Cf.* p. 27. *Below*: Arethusa on a silver ten-drachma coin from Syracuse. 480 B.C. *Cf.* p. 27.

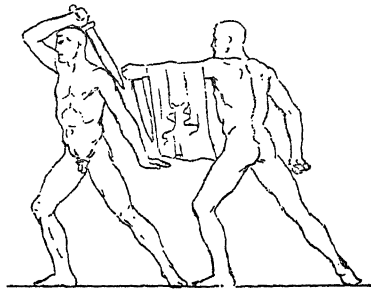


FIG. 4 - *Kritios' Tyrant-slayers. 476 B.C. Reconstruction based on Karl Dicks' drawing. Cf. p. 28.*

FIG. 41

The pre-baroque art of all ages always shows moving figures from the angle from which the movement can be seen most completely and builds up whole groups like reliefs; typical examples are the archaic groups from Delphi and Samos, that of the draughts-players from the Acropolis at Athens and that of Athena and Marsyas, which also stood on the Acropolis at Athens. Thus the Tyrant-slayers cannot be made to face the spectator, because then they would be fighting out of the relief plane and their back legs would disappear behind. If moving figures are shown from the front - men throwing the discus or the axe, for example - the decisive points of the composition lie in the same relief plane.

APPX. PL. 5, 6

FIG. 12

Only in our reconstruction does the group reveal the firm axial structure characteristic of severe style. The east pediment at Aegina, which is probably only a decade earlier, shows no trace of it. It is true that these warriors reflect a new organic understanding and are fluidly integrated with the goddess in the middle who activates them, but archaic motifs are still the basis of the composition and there is no sign of the strict sense of structure which in the Tyrant-slayers evokes the impression of brazen, inexorable necessity.

APPX. PL. 8

FIG. 3

APPX. PL. 3

The oldest picture of Pan and Boreas can be dated to the years after the victories over the Persians. When the Persians were approaching in 490 the Athenians sent an ambassador to Sparta to ask for help. On the way, in the lonely mountains, he heard the voice of Pan. The god promised to help the Athenians if they founded a cult in his honour. And the Persian army was in fact overcome by 'panic' confusion at the battle of Marathon. Now it so happens that a brazen herald's staff was found on the Acropolis and its ends are adorned with heads of Pan instead of the usual snakes. It is tempting to surmise that the Nike of Kallimachos held this very herald's staff, which makes such a delicate allusion to Pan's help to Marathon. Stylistically the two works do in fact belong together. The features are organically related in a way which in the small work is amazing, but they are more old-fashioned, with smaller planes than in the works found round about the Critian Boy, and even than the Aristogiton, whose head can well be compared with them. The

PLATE 5 - Boreas abducts Oreithyia. Pointed amphora by the Oreithyia painter. About 475 B.C. *Munich. Height 23 in. Cf. p. 32.*



delicate mobility and elastic suppleness of the Pan's heads fit in with the posture and drapery of Kallimachos' Nike. By the assimilation of the goat face to the human head a solemn animation is achieved which does not recur in any later portrait of Pan. The nose and mouth are those of an animal; cheek and chin, which distinguish the human being, are lacking. Yet the almost human forehead, the beard, and in particular an indefinable dignity, lend the whole a demonic nobility.

PLATE P. 31

Another nature god, the North Wind Boreas, helped the Greeks in the Persian Wars, especially in the sea battle at Cape Artemisium in 480, when he destroyed Persian ships near Chalcis. This is why Boreas was now often depicted as a wild Thracian king carrying off the Attic princess Oreithyia as she plays with her friends. Soon after 480 the Oreithyia painter adorned a pointed amphora with this picture. The curvature of the vase gives life to the rustling garments blown out like sails. It is as if a storm were blowing, a storm which finds its strongest expression symbolically in the face of Boreas, in the sombre eye under the jutting brow and the hooked nose over the full lip, between the wildly bristling hair and beard. The axes of the figures enable the artist to dominate the surface of the vase and thus to transcend the sub-archaic approach. Experience of nature was more appropriate than archaic convention to the new style. The new inner greatness may be compared with that of the Tyrant-slayers.

FIG. 5

It was the impact of another historical event that produced the pictures of the sack of Troy – the most important ones that have been preserved – by the Brygos and Kleophrades painters. In 494 the Persians captured and sacked Miletus. The disastrous end of the Ionian revolt moved the Athenians deeply; the capture of Miletus was depicted so powerfully by Phrynichus, the founder of classical tragedy, that the Athenians wept in the theatre and punished the poet for provoking such immoderate emotion.

PLATE P. 35

The Charioteer of Delphi, dated to about 474 by the dedicatory inscription of Polyzalos from Gela in Sicily, shows the brazen severity of the Tyrant-slayers transposed into the Doric style. Pindar's ΕΠΙΚΡΑΤΕΙΝ ΔΥΝΑΣΤΗΛ, the mastery of forces, which Goethe admired so much, has never been portrayed in such an unqualified way. The driver stands erect in his chariot, turns his countenance with its strong, alert eyes slightly to his right and, with most of his weight on his left leg, follows this movement with his whole body. The eyes are made out of a white paste with hard brown and black stone embedded in it. Not enough of the base has been preserved to enable us to say for certain whether the team of four horses was depicted from the front, as had been usual up till then. Even if this was the case, the slightly unsymmetrical character of the face shows that the view of the right profile in conjunction with the frontal view had its own significance. The headband, artistically inlaid with copper and silver, is appropriate only to a prince. A victor at the Pythian games would have to be marked out by a laurel wreath. Polyzalos need not have driven the chariot himself at Delphi; it is enough if he appears as the owner of the team.

Instead of the rich pleats of archaic tradition, which are frequently retained in the severe style, heavy, deeply rounded folds envelop the body up to the high belt; above it they belly out in an irregular cup which leads on to the oblique line of the



FIG. 5 - *Polyxena being led off to the left by Akamas, stares in horror at Neoptolemus, who is killing Astyanax and Priam. Cup by the Brygos painter. About 490 B.C. Paris, Louvre. Diameter 13 in. Cf. p. 32.*

shoulders and is echoed in the smaller, horizontal folds over the upper arm. The new vision of reality serves a conception which we have not found at Athens: leathery skin, veins in the feet, low brow, strong chin and florid mouth. The knightly self-control is not only objectively depicted, as in the figures of the Aegina pediment; it also serves to express a princely character. The spiritual element is seen rather in self-restraint than in the development of the individual; rather in the lawful, the absolute than in the experience of life; in the perfect management and assurance of feeling and lively senses. Thus we are only shown the team driving up, not the victory itself; a tragic chorus, as it were, not a drama. Polyxalos had ruled at Gela from 478 to 475, but the mention of his dominion has been erased from the dedicatory inscription and replaced by a more general form of words. In the list of victors at the quadrennial games only 478 and 474 are possible years for a victory of Polyxalos; obviously he was a victor in 478 but the statue was only put up when he had ceased to rule Gela. This must be the reason for the

APPX. PL. 5, 6

- FIG. 4 alteration of the inscription. Stylistically, the statue is a little later than the Tyrant-slayers. Polyzalos' family always employed bronze-casters from Aegina. The great master of Aegina at that time was Onatas; we possess Roman copies of a statue of Demeter by him. In this Demeter, as in the Charioteer, the expressive parts – the head and feet – are separated by wide expanses of robe, and thus the whole is given its rhythm by sparingly distributed centres of force. An original head from Aegina now in the Louvre is closely related to that of the Charioteer and thus confirms the latter's Aeginetan origin.
- APPX. PL. 2 The pediment figures from Aegina should not be allowed to dictate our ideas of the island's style. In the archaic period it had had a more Ionian character, and if our attribution of the Charioteer is correct Onatas attained a quite individual synthesis of Doric, Ionic and even Attic elements. Between Kalon, the famous master of the late archaic period, and the severe Onatas a profound change has been accomplished. It was a work of genius to transpose in this way the Attic creation of the severe style into the Doric. Onatas thereby won high renown among the Dorians.
- PLATE P. 81 The temple of Zeus at Olympia must have been completed when in 456 a golden shield was dedicated and hung on the east front by the Spartans in thanksgiving for the victory of Tanagra. In the sculptures of the temple it can be observed how the firm axes are broken up more and more by the streaming organic forces; the process is less perceptible on the west end than on the east end, which was the last to be completed. The splendid Silenus from a city gate in Thasos can be dated between the Charioteer and the temple of Zeus. With raised drinking-cup and distended penis he brings the city the blessing of the fields. The walls of Thasos had been torn down in 492 and rebuilt in 479; in 464 the city was subjugated by Athens. Thus this Silenus must date from between 479 and 464, for the style makes it impossible that it could have been produced before 492. The swelling limbs seem to put the erect figure nearer 464 than 479. The free arrangement against the background and the large planes betray the severe style in contrast to the late archaic pettiness of another of the gate reliefs, a powerfully overbearing Heracles, now in Constantinople.
- APPX. PL. 17 Thus for the stylistic history of the early classical style we have numerous pieces of evidence, which lend each other mutual support. If we possessed only the works dated by inscriptions – the Nike of Kallimachos, the Tyrant-slayers, the Charioteer and the sculptures of Olympia – we could reconstruct a change in style which would be confirmed as dating from after the battles of Marathon and Salamis by the finds among the rubble of the Persian Wars and by the pictures of Pan and Boreas. In individual cases our chronology would perhaps be too schematic. If we did not know that the group of works round the Critian Boy came from the Persian debris, we should perhaps place them in the next decade instead of before 480. But these are small errors. It is more important to grasp the spiritual events which are reflected in the change of style.
- Much as we admire the sculpture of the decades around 500, painting must at that time have been still more important. It is true that we possess but few remains of large-scale painting, but vase-painting, which has been preserved in

amazing abundance, ranks in its masterpieces beside those of other ages for classical force. Large-scale painting can have been superior only in the media at its disposal, not in quality. The decisive advance in formal technique of the new classical style,



PLATE 6 – Charioteer. Votive offering of the Sicilian prince Polyzalos. 474 B.C. Height 4 ft. 3 in. Delphi. Cf. p. 32.



PLATE 7 — Theseus and Athene before Amphitrite. Cup by the Panaitios painter. After 500 B.C. *Paris, Louvre*. Diameter $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cf. pp. 38-45.

physical perspective, is attributed by the ancient historians of art to a painter called Kimon of Kleonai. Pliny (Natural History, 35, 53) reports that Kimon discovered the foreshortening which we first find employed on vases around 500. It is thus on vases that we have been able to trace the change to the new style most clearly. The style of painting which finally prevailed at that time covers the pictures with coloured expanses of drapery full of fine folds, and links figure and surroundings with mobile outlines in a whole that is full of tension. Spiritual agitation lends new expression to every motif. The artist looks for the inner structure of figure and picture and learns to let swelling muscles and clinging garments react on each other in flowing and often stormy movement. The better the static of the figure is understood, the more the body frees itself from its connection with the surface. The pictorial style is gradually superseded by a plastic one, which reaches its fulfilment in the mature classical period. The tension between traditional bonds and new freedom makes tragic greatness more clearly visible than in any other period. Thus the change from the pictorial to the plastic style in the early classical period is based on deep-lying causes.

Apart from Kimon of Kleonai, the most important artists are vase-painters – the Panaitios, Kleophrades and Brygos painters. They are called by these names because we seldom know the true names of the vase-painters; relatively few vases are signed 'so-and-so painted this'. The signatures of the potters are rather more frequent; in most cases the work of the vase-painters is only grouped according to the style. Decisive progress in this reconstruction of the personalities of ancient artists has been made by Adolf Furtwängler and John D. Beazley. That some of these painters rank with the great artists of the world is not yet widely appreciated, because people are less interested in such intellectual events than they were in the last century. Some of the Renaissance painters who at that time became a part of our general cultural heritage are less important than these Attic vase-painters.

The Panaitios painter was christened by Furtwängler after the ephebus Panaitios, in order to distinguish him from Euphronios, in whose workshop the Panaitios painter worked. Eight cups attributed to the Panaitios painter are signed by Euphronios as the potter, and one bowl signed by Euphronios bears the name of the painter Onesimos. Beazley now regards Onesimos as the painter of all the work which he attributed earlier to the Panaitios painter. In that case the work of the Panaitios painter would be simply the early phase of Onesimos: in the former we meet the names of youths from the first decade of the fifth century, in the latter names from the second decade; in the former Panaitios and Athenodotos, in the latter Erothemis, Lykos and others. But some bowls which Beazley previously attributed to Onesimos bear the name Panaitios, in particular the one with the armed runners in private ownership at Arlesheim, and this bowl is stylistically older than the latest works previously attributed to the Panaitios painter. It is characterized by the loosening and disintegration of archaic tectonics, which begins round about 490 to give way to a new solidity of construction.

In the picture inside the cup an armed runner is preparing for a race. He is pleased with his helmet, which he holds in his left hand; the fingers of his right hand are spread out in a gesture of admiration, and we can almost hear the open mouth

VASE-PAINTING

PLATES, PP.

65, 66, 113, 115

PLATES PP. 36, 42, 47

FIGS. 5-8

PLATE P. 39

speaking. To the left hang scraper, oil-bottle and sponge and on the ground lies a pick-axe to loosen up the soil of the palaestra where the runner does his training. The red headband in his hair will give the helmet a firmer grip. In the race in armour one was equipped, apart from the helmet, only with the shield, which here lies on the ground; on it are written the words 'Ho pais' (the boy) and on the background it also says 'Panaitios is beautiful'. In late archaic pictures the sections were arranged ornamentally alongside each other in one plane, but Onesimos understands how to round out the body and to make it stand out from the surface, so that it preserves its connection with the circle of the picture only through a fine tension, though it lacks the firmness of stance which art had been concerned to achieve since about 490. However, the body is already permeated by a unified movement alien to archaic art. The movement makes the attitude into the concentrated expression of inner feeling, and it is really this inner element that holds the picture together. Classical art was to understand attitude more and more by reference to the essential nature of the individual, as it is expressed in the organically functional construction of the body.

PLATE P. 36
FIG. 6

The Panaitios painter's masterpiece, the Theseus cup now in Paris, is quite different in character from the 'armed runner' cup, not only by virtue of its splendid theme but also in its drawing; yet both date from soon after 500. The difference between the picture on the inside and the one on the outside shows the enormous range of this great artist. Inside, the finest delicacy; outside, harsh, passionate strength. But there is no sign of the suppleness and mobility of Onesimos. In one of the outside pictures the blue-eyed, blond hero throws Sciron into the sea and lifts his arm for the hammer blow at Procrustes; in the other he wrestles with Cercyon and binds the bull of Marathon. He has thongs round its horns and legs and will thus cause it to fall to the ground. Theseus is seen from behind and bending so far forward that he is almost falling over himself. Again it is more the attitude than any inner firmness that determines the construction of the group, even if the effort to build up powerful, rounded bodies points forward to the future. What is new is the choice of athletic deeds, the monumental treatment, the amplitude of the gestures, the characterization of the adversaries, especially the deathly fear in the countenance of Cercyon, which is shown from the front. Unfortunately much has had to be reconstructed, but one can see that the painter has produced an extremely bold reproduction of his model, which Buschor thinks was probably a picture by Kimon of Kleonai himself.

Cycles of pictures depicting the deeds of Theseus are frequent after about 510, the year in which Athens was liberated from her tyrants. Until then Theseus had only been portrayed as the seducer of Ariadne and Helen, as the ally of the Lapiths against the Centaurs and in other isolated deeds, especially the slaying of the Minotaur. Now all at once the deeds of Theseus and Heracles are related in cycles. This is all the more striking since otherwise Greek art likes to contrast

PLATE 8 - Armed runners. Cup by Onesimos. About 495 B.C. *Arlesheim. Private ownership. Diameter 9 in. Cf. p. 37.*





FIG. 6 (pp. 40 and 41) — *Theseus fights Sinis, Sciron, Procrustes and the bull of Marathon. Exterior of the cup by the Panaitios painter, page 36. Cf. p. 38.*

individual scenes from different legends as mythical examples; narration proper it left to poetry, or at any rate left to the picture books intended for the illiterate. Thus behind our Theseus and Heracles cycles there must lie poems. The concurrence of these cycles with the fall of the tyrants and the return of the aristocratic family of the Alcmaeonidae to Athens cannot be a coincidence. Cleisthenes, the founder of Attic democracy, was an Alcmaeonid. The epic relating the deeds of Theseus seems to have come into existence in the circle of the Alcmaeonidae at Delphi, where the exiled family had lived until 510. In the saga the beneficent, helpful element in Theseus, the protector of the Attic people, is emphasized again and again; he is celebrated almost as the founder of democracy and thus appears as the mythical prototype of Cleisthenes.

FIG. 6 Another aspect of Theseus which is underlined is his prowess as an athlete, as expressed in an agility and youthful courage which are very much in the spirit of the late archaic joy in the contest and the palaestra. Heracles, on the other hand, is characterized by primitive, irresistible strength; he wields a club and even in wrestling he triumphs more through sheer weight and strength of muscle than by the skill and cunning which Theseus displays. Heracles' adversaries are real daemons, such as the Hydra, while those of Theseus are giants, enemies of human civilization. The poem must have been full of Attic self-consciousness and of new political awareness.

It may be assumed that behind the pictorial cycles of Theseus' deeds there lay a large-scale prototype. The cycle can hardly have been invented for small-scale art, like these vases. Moreover, the cycle also appears on the walls of the Athenian treasury at Delphi, which was probably dedicated at the instigation of Cleisthenes; the change in style around 500 can be clearly recognized. Finally, the inside picture of the present vase has a monumental character; it occupies an unusually

FIGS. 18, 19, 21-26

FIG. 16

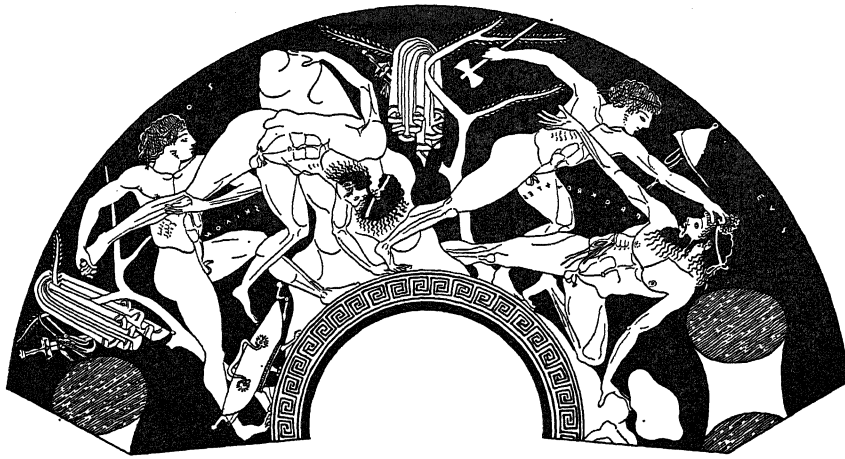


FIG. 49
APPX. PL. I I

large proportion of the interior surface, which is sixteen inches in diameter, and is distinguished by the boldness of the invention. Theseus before Amphitrite was also the subject of a picture in the sanctuary of Theseus erected at Athens after 474 at the suggestion of the statesman Cimon. We can deduce from reproductions on a crater by the Kadmos painter and on a Melian relief that in this picture Theseus was being carried to the bottom of the sea in Triton's arms. On one bowl the theme is treated in a more old-fashioned and legendary manner, in that Theseus floats on the hands of Triton, but the idea of link between daemon and hero is common to both conceptions. It suggests that even in Cleisthenes' time a sanctuary of Theseus at Athens was adorned with pictures and consequently that the Theseus cycles go back to the days of Cleisthenes. At any rate vases normally show another version of the story: Theseus does not appear before Amphitrite, but before Poseidon, in order to be recognized by him as his son, just as Heracles appears before Zeus when he is admitted to Olympus at the end of his labours.

Some decades after the Panaitios painter Bacchylides told the wonderful story in verse. Together with thirteen other young Athenians, Theseus had been given as tribute to King Minos of Crete. When the king fell in love with one of the girls, Theseus had challenged him and declared that he himself was the son of the sea-god. Whereupon Minos had thrown his ring into the sea and told Theseus to recover it if he was really Poseidon's son. The ring is not depicted because it is not a suitable motif for visual art. Nevertheless the correspondence with Bacchylides is so great that the poet must have been familiar with the same Theseus epic that the Panaitios painter postulates. In visual art the ring motif is replaced by another impressive symbol of Amphitrite's favour. It is a characteristic of the old legends that the hero is made welcome by the mistress of the palace (as Odysseus is by Arete, queen of the Phaeacians), and in this instance she gives him a precious crown which she



FIG. 7 - *The Achilles on the amphora by the Kleophrades painter. Cf. pp. 44 f.*



had received as a wedding-gift from Aphrodite. By this gleaming crown Theseus was later saved from the darkness of the labyrinth. In Cimon's Theseum Amphitrite was placing this garland on Theseus' head. On the vase she is still holding it in her left hand, while she stretches out her right hand to Theseus in greeting; the latter still holds his left hand back, the fingers spread in shy wonder. The goddess Athene has accompanied her protégé even into the depths of the sea, bringing with her her owl, which perches on her flat right hand. But she does not wish to tarry; she is already turning to the left, and the slanting spear too indicates that fresh deeds await her.

The splendour of the fine archaic folds is so extensive that in the reproduction they almost melt into coloured expanses. In the original they are all clearly defined down to the smallest detail. We are shown not only what moves the figures internally but also their external surroundings; one hardly needs to see the three dolphins playing on the left to feel the shimmering fluidity of the ocean. In addition, the archaic structure is permeated by new, unified movements and positively vibrates, most clearly in the stronger and stronger tension of Athene's turn, but also in the opposition of Theseus and Amphitrite; he delicately hovering on Triton's hands, a neat figure with his fine locks and short chiton, while she too seems to be hovering

PLATE 9 - Briseis (?). Amphora by the Kleophrades painter. About 490 B.C. *Basle. Height 18¹/₂ in. Cf. pp. 44 f.*

more than sitting, enveloped, as it were, by the cloak, which rises high above the nape of her neck. The modern spectator is always tempted to project his own conception of three-dimensional space into such pictures. In reality their magic lies precisely in the artist's ability to extract the maximum of expression from the flat surface, that is, to capture in a linear design the movements of the soul and the objects, other living creatures and elements that surround us.

The picture is framed by a simple meander, which gives an impression of firm delimitation, and then by a dark channel and a band of palmettes hanging from the lip of the bowl, like a sort of shore to the sea. Since the time of the Romans the frame is an indissoluble part of the structure of a western picture; it is composed with the frame in mind and is unthinkable without it. Greek pictures, on the other hand, are constructed out of themselves. The frame can be laid round the picture and enrich it, but it is not an essential part of the composition.

In no other Theseus cycle is the hero portrayed so decidedly as the princely youth. In the prototype he was probably more homely and stronger, as he is in the pictures on the outside of this vase; the conception of him depicted on the inside may well spring from the genius of the Panaitios painter and from homage to a young Athenian of his own time. 'Few Greek painters', says Beazley, 'are so gladdening as the Panaitios painter. He is always fresh and various, untouched by the deadening finger of routine. A fine rhythm runs through each supple, nimble figure, binds it to its neighbour and passes on through him until the composition is complete. His big-headed, thin-limbed people can never have counted as noble types; race, however, is not what he cares for, but vitality. His forearms and hands are particularly beautiful and expressive: they make most other hands seem gloved.' And how freshly he sees his themes; in wealth of invention he is the equal of the Brygos and Kleophrades painters.

PLATES PP. 42, 47

On a cup now in Perugia Onesimos depicts in a more superficial style Achilles killing Priam's youngest son, Troilus, at the altar of Apollo. This impious deed angered Apollo, and Achilles was to pay for it with an early death. But nothing in the pictures hints at the sombre consequences; we see only the charm of youth and boy, graceful garments and winged movement. Beazley's earlier description of Onesimos is corroborated: 'Much less capacity to invent and shape (than in the Panaitios painter); a substitute of a sort is provided by his wonderful grace.'

PLATE P. 42

FIG. 7

If the Panaitios painter is the most important painter of cups round the turn of the century, the Kleophrades painter is the greatest painter of closed vessels and craters – their monumental shape corresponds to his grandiose vision. His real name was Epiktetos, for he signed a pelike in Berlin with this name. To distinguish him from the late archaic painter Epiktetos he has been named after a cup of his in Paris which is signed by the potter Kleophrades. Beazley has demonstrated the scope of his work, but no one has so far shown what its significance is for the change-over from the archaic to the classical period. Beazley calls him unequalled 'for the giant power of his standing or moving figures'.

The warrior setting out with his team of horses is an old theme of archaic art, but the departure of the young warrior without any trimmings in the way of chariot or horses assumes a new significance about 500. We can sense behind it the self-

awareness of the young democracy and its citizen army. Euthymides, the Kleophrades painter's teacher, illustrated the theme with archaic splendour and ease and on one occasion called the young warrior Hector. This is characteristic of the relationship to legend: at every parting one can think of a mythical prototype; in every young warrior there is something of a hero such as Hector, and in general only those scenes from life are depicted in which there is a gleam of something higher, hinting at what makes life worth while. The Kleophrades painter, even in early works, has given a surprising depth to the theme of parting. The warrior is not just shown putting on his armour; a parting libation is poured to the gods or it may even be that the future is being predicted from the examination of the liver of an animal slaughtered as a sacrifice. On Euthymides' vases the warrior's father with raised forefinger, gives wise advice. On those of Kleophrades he turns away in a state of painful emotion; one senses that he is so upset that his very body bends. On the Basle amphora the painter goes so far as to present only wife and hero, putting one of them on each side of the vase. The theme has attained its mature and perfect form. Here too the parting libation is unmistakable; but the woman who holds the jug seems this time to be Achilles' beloved, Briseis, for Oltos, too, and the Achilles painter put Achilles and Briseis opposite each other on different sides of amphoras, and the centaur which forms the emblem on the shield may well indicate Achilles' teacher, Chiron. Achilles puts the dish to his lips with a high-spirited movement which archaic art could not have depicted. He strides out with springy knees, so that we feel the momentary nature of the important event. Shield and spear swing in counterpoise to the free gesture of the right arm, but not just in two dimensions: the solidity of the body can be traced especially in the chiton and armour, between shield and shoulder, although this element of perspective does not disturb the lovely curvature of the surface of the vases. Achilles and Briseis give the effect of statues, both borne upward by the black background of the vase and accompanied by the plastic life of the vessel. It is not without significance that the shoulders of both figures rest on the shoulders of the amphora.

Briseis wears the cloak over her chiton, in full splendour, with the puff, which is drawn out over the belt, and a fold over the breast. Long locks fall over her shoulders and in her hair lies a broad diadem with little leaves pointing upward. Her right hand holds the jug and her left raises a big red-painted blossom, not in archaic refinement but as if in meaningful greeting. The inner greatness which characterizes this painter more than any of his contemporaries speaks to us here with a loftiness which Aeschylus alone parallels in his treatment of the Homeric figures. Through these artists old Attic tradition attains classical worth, for 'Mightiness and that sublime seriousness form a basic attitude of Attic art from the early period onwards' (Beazley). One has only to think of the Nettos painter, the Dipylon Master, the giants of the Acropolis pediment. Through the paintings of Polygnotos this spirit then influenced the sculptures of Olympia. It speaks from the painter's every detail: 'Every part, a foot, a fold, a lock of hair, is wonderful, studied and just as loftily conceived as the whole' (Beazley).

The third of the three great painters of the opening years of the fifth century is known by the name of the potter Brygos, whose signature is preserved on fourteen

PLATE P. 42

FIG. 7



FIG. 8 – *Departure of the gods from Olympus to fight the giants; picture on the outside of the cup by the Brygos painter. Cf. below and pp. 47, 48.*

PLATE P. 47

FIG. 8

cups. The five most beautiful of these cups are decorated by the Brygos painter, to whom Beazley has attributed 229 works and also a large school of followers. The Brygos painter certainly learnt from the somewhat older Panaitios painter, but he was not one of the latter's immediate colleagues. 'He not only refines (the figures of the Panaitios painter, like Onesimos),' says Beazley, 'but infuriates them; their movements become more violent, their gestures, their faces more passionate.' We have chosen as an example the cup in Berlin depicting the battle against the giants, since up to now the connection between the inner and outer pictures has not been adequately explained. On the inside, a goddess, whom we can recognize from the full moon on her head as the mistress of the night, drives her team of two horses to their disappearance in the river encircling the earth. That she is setting, not rising, is apparent from the way in which she pulls on the reins and turns her head with its night-cap attentively to the side, while the horses rear.

The front view of one horse's head is brought under the more strongly drawn up left arm in powerful contrast to the profile view of the other under the goad which the right hand holds. We feel the wonder of the movement, but the stars on each side of the goddess shine peacefully. The body of the chariot is decorated with fine ornamental curls. The radiance of the picture is increased by the fact that the bright moon cuts through the darker meander, and this radiance is also reflected in the shimmer of the outspread wings. It is only seldom that we meet, as here, the grandeur of natural events embodied in a natural phenomenon; it is no less than an anticipation of the east pediment of the Parthenon, in which the birth of Athene takes place as Helios rises and the goddess of night departs.

FIG. 34



PLATE 10 — Night dips into the sea. Cup by the Brygos painter. After 490. *Berlin-Charlottenburg, Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz*. Diameter $12\frac{3}{4}$ in. Cf. Fig. 8 and pp. 46 f.

FIG. 8

Night was fading and day breaking as the gods defeated the giants, too, and it was at the same hour that the solemn procession started out from the Acropolis every year during the great feast in honour of the goddess Athene. Now we understand why on the left of one outside picture Zeus, wielding the flaming thunderbolt, leaves his palace on Olympus in the radiant morning. Other friezes of the giants show Zeus in the middle of the composition, accompanied by his most important assistants, Athene and Heracles. The Brygos painter, however, depicts the event not at its climax but in the process of unfolding: Zeus' head is half-concealed by the thunderbolt; his whole figure is still to the left of the palace column. Heracles' head is hidden by the arm stretching the bow-string and his whole figure is concealed by the horses. Athene alone appears in full figure, as if her cult statue on the Acropolis had stormed out of the temple into the open air. Archaic clarity is replaced by a consciously more complicated vision. The painter now knows that the driving forces of life lie deeper, not on the surface, as the archaic world had thought. The roots are invisible; from them the divine breaks out in daemonic fashion.

PLATE P. 42

FIG. 7

The disintegration of archaic tectonics is overcome by the firm construction in areas of colour which are hardly dovetailed at all into the background. The dramatic effect is intensified by the interplay between the flat, inert areas and the bearing elements. However, the Brygos painter does not manifest the same sense of the tragic as the Kleophrades painter; the fallen do not have the greatness which all the figures of that painter possess. The heroic and the tragic came more naturally to the Kleophrades painter, while the Brygos painter was better at depicting gods. He points forward to Pheidias, just as the Kleophrades painter points forward to Polygnotos. This cup is the Brygos painter's most mature work: the bubbling magic of his early works has given way to fiery force. This kind of art knows that it is more important to fire the spectator's imagination than to lay everything before his eyes. While the Panaitios and the Kleophrades painters made the spiritual element visible in the inner tensions of their figures, the Brygos painter seeks the tension with the plane surface, the tension between figure and environment. He thus tackles problems which were only to be solved by the rich style and the late classical style, which is concerned with the delicate spiritual movement of the figure in the surrounding space. The name 'Brygos' may mean 'the Phrygian'; at any rate he certainly calls to mind the land of Phrygian flute music, with its passion and spiritual rapture. While the other painters we have discussed depict with a sort of shy vigour the awakening of the self-conscious soul in the body, he already conveys its subtlest movements.

PLATES PP. 50, 51

When we turn from the Brygos painter to the fourth of the great vase-painters of the fifth century, the painter of the Berlin amphora, we find ourselves in a different world of an individual and aristocratic kind. It is only recently that we have come to know his ripest and most monumental work, the amphora (type 1) in Basle with Athene and Heracles pouring a libation together; he gets his name from the somewhat older masterpiece in Berlin, on which the procession of the wine-gods' friends is unforgettably ennobled as the mythical prototype of every home-coming from a feast. On the Basle amphora the painter has aimed still higher. He has simplified

the ornamentation, leaving out the line of ivy between the handles and the rays which climb up from the foot of the Berlin vase, and has painted just two figures facing each other, one on each side of the vase, the goddess, who turns in kindly fashion to the hero, and the hero, who comes shyly up to her, wide-eyed at her perfection and lips parted to utter a respectful greeting. The two of them are not on such cheerfully familiar terms with each other as in late archaic pictures. The gap between god and man is much more evident than ever before, yet both appear in their full divine and heroic dignity as the beings of a great tradition: Athene with the venerable symbol on her shield and the richly embroidered cult robe over her chiton, and Heracles in full armour, not as the naked athlete of the metopes at Olympia. Hero and goddess stand on a particularly rich and fine band of palmettes and blossoms, as though on a flowery meadow, but on Athene's side the band is somewhat longer and her figure, with its crested helmet, also rises higher between the handles of the vase. The drawing is indescribably fine, precise and musical, like that of the Brygos painter, but there is more of Apollo's cithara than of Dionysus' flute in the music. The gradation in the materials from the fine chiton to the hard aegis and metal shield produces a quietly glowing colour effect, which is also assisted by the frequent employment of thinned colour; on the whole Heracles looks darker than the goddess.

FIGS. 15-26

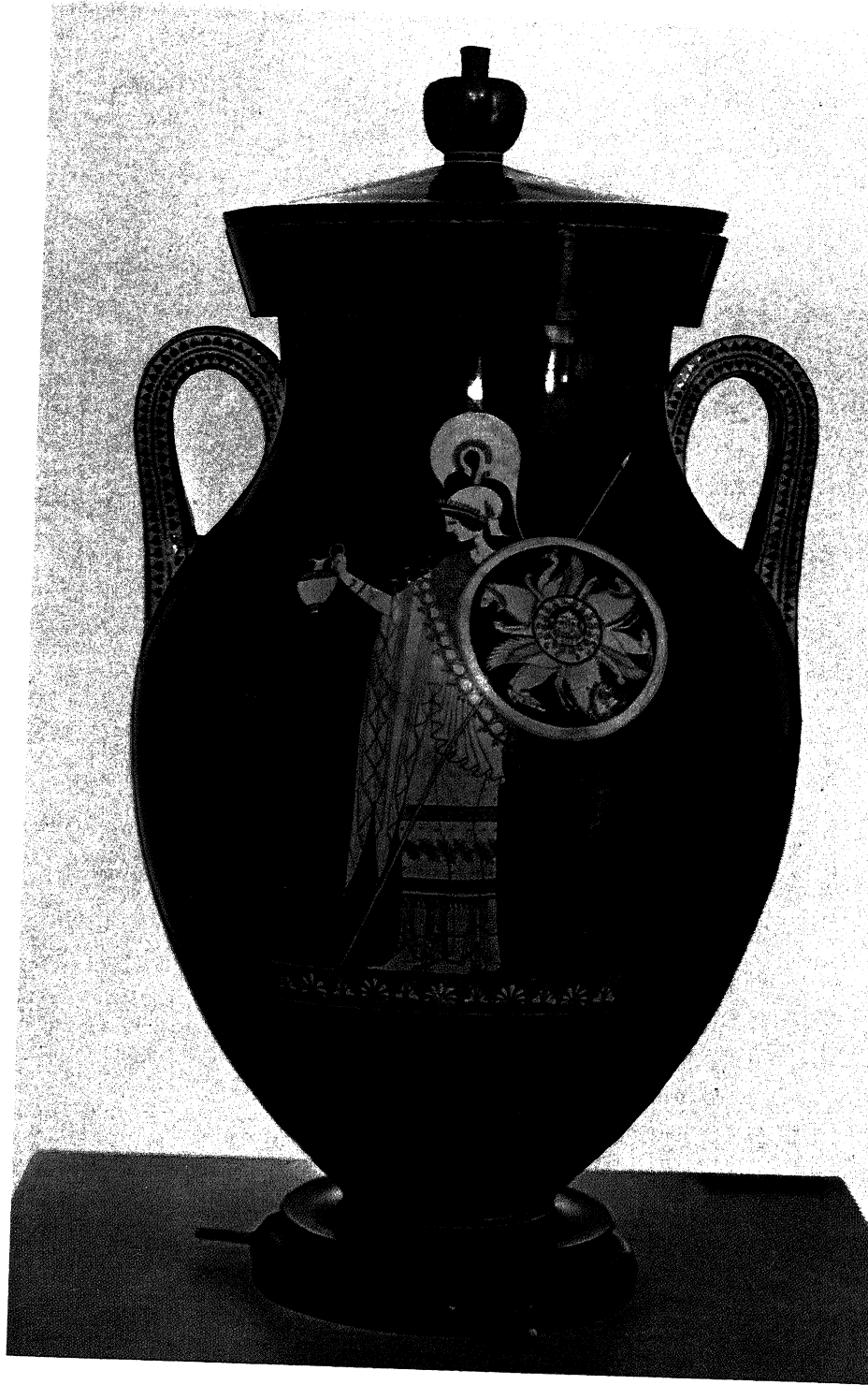
Herbert Cahn, in his attractive presentation of the vase, has reminded us of the description of Athene in *Iliad* V, 733 ff., and of the description of her shield in XI, 36 f.; Deimos and Phobos, Fear and Terror, also appear here on the shield. At the same time, however, the linking of lion and winged goat recall the Chimaera, while the winged horse recalls Pegasus, on which Bellerophon, Athene's protégé, overcame the Chimaera. The Gorgon's head is Perseus' prey. Just as Athene earlier helped Bellerophon and Perseus, so now she helps Heracles. The latter has fastened on his lion-skin with his sword-belt and wrapped the skin round himself in such a way that his dark head emerges from the bright, open jaws of the lion. He carries his club on his shoulder, and on his back hang quiver and bow; thus he brings, as it were, all the labours of his life with him.

The type I amphora was a creation of the mature archaic period (about 600 B.C.), which had achieved full volume in the construction of works of art. In the century of classical unity the shape is employed less often, but fresh conceptions of it appear in a few great works, and the most perfect example is the Basle amphora. The statuesque character of the figures and their autonomous structure correspond to that of the huge black vessel. The curve of its outline is more unified than that of the Berlin amphora, and the edge of the mouth is heavier and steeper; a high seriousness speaks out more clearly from it. The figure of the goddess will serve to remind us that soon after 490 the Acropolis was to receive one dominant building to crown it, in place of the archaic variety of buildings of equal importance.

FIG. 9

PLATES 11-12 - (pp. 50 and 51): Heracles and Athene pour a libation. Amphora by the Berlin painter. About 485 B.C. *Basle*. Height with lid 31½ in. Cf. p. 48.





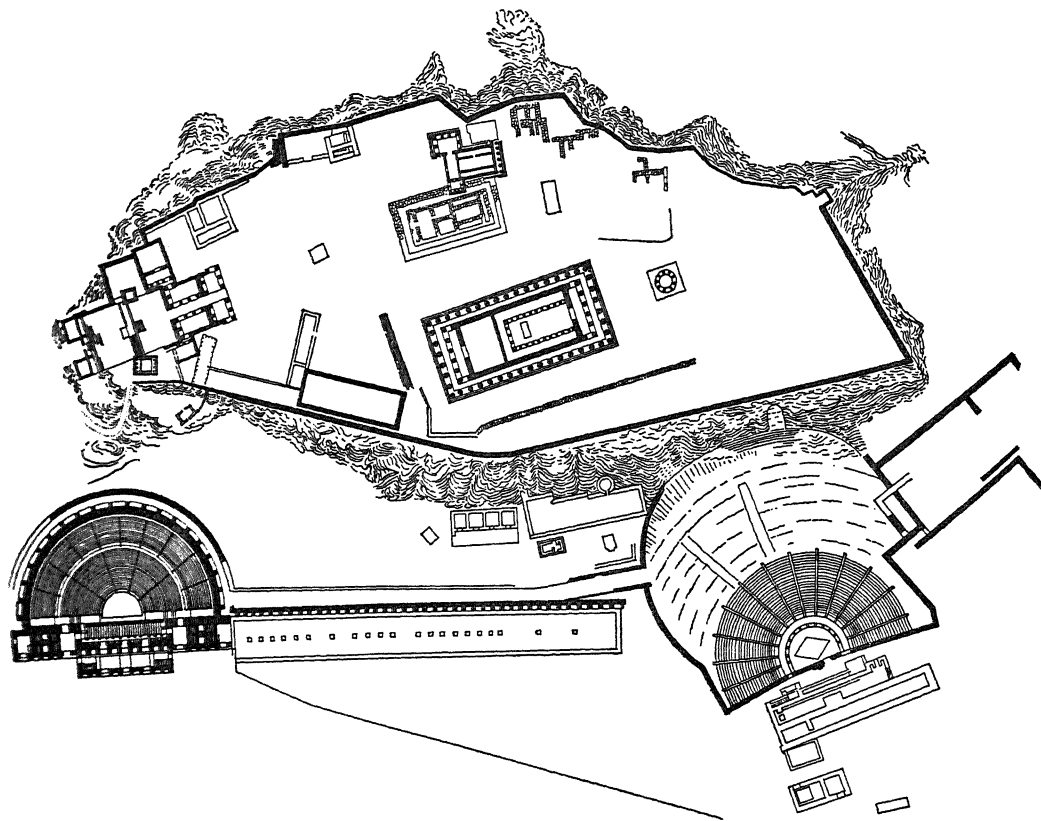


FIG. 9 - Plan of the Acropolis and the surrounding area. The dominating building is the Parthenon; to the north of it the archaic temple of Athena and the Erechtheum, and at the western end of the rock the Propylaea and the temple of Nike. Below on the left: the Roman Odeon (the theatre of Herodes Atticus); to the right: the theatre of Dionysus. Cf. p. 49.

As in the Basle amphora, the conception contains the seed of what was to be fulfilled in the mature classical period. The knob on the lid, a sort of idealized pomegranate, draws together the powers of growth implicit in the whole vase and invites us to lift the lid and enjoy the gift of Dionysus.

Like the Kleophrades painter, the Berlin painter preferred closed vessels to cups because of the monumental character of the former. But spiritually he is more akin to Pindar than to Aeschylus; his work is more reminiscent of the hymn to the aristocratic victor than of tragedy. He has, as Beazley puts it, 'a somewhat feminine charm . . . his people have the magic of early youth, long limbs; he loves winged things and creatures, "Pard-like, beautiful and swift!"' Beazley has shown how his influence was at work throughout the fifth century (see below, p. 112).

PLATE P. 55 Just as strong is the influence of Douris, who signed a particularly large number

of vases. His early works are modelled on the Panaitios painter. His career began only a few years after that of the latter, but his work can be traced for a much longer time, until after 470. From the period of his maturity onwards a fertile school formed round him, and with later vases it is often doubtful what is his own work; he stands at the head of the whole academic tendency in early classical vase-painting. In his early works there is a hint of uncertainty, a slightly mannered touch from which even the Basle cup is not free. But at times he aims high in his subjects and takes over themes from large-scale painting; he has done this on the Brussels kantharos, which he has signed both as painter and potter – the only example of this. On this vase Heracles, outnumbered by Amazons, lunges to the left and stabs his foremost adversary. His attitude repeats the bold invention of Antenor, who in Harmodios made a hero lunge and strike at the same time. We 'read' the picture from left to right and thus encounter the heavily armed victor suddenly thrusting. The Amazons are no longer masculine women, as they often are in archaic pictures, but a slender-limbed horde. In the conclusion of the group on the right there are already signs of classical unity. But where large-scale models are lacking the disintegration of archaic tectonics becomes something of a problem for Douris. That is why, on a vase in Vienna, he pushes the sons of Priam, who are putting on their armour, close together between their parents, with Hector and Andromache in the inside picture. The most manifold themes are linked with wonderful care in the effort to achieve the splendour and dignity of the grand style. To judge by the unsure stance, the somewhat more mature Basle cup cannot have been produced after 490. The arbiter of the inside picture stands more freely in the round than the group on the Vienna cup. He is depicted facing the left; he holds the rod in his left hand and gestures to the practising athletes with his right. By his head, like a tribute, are the words 'Douris painted it', and the inscription, painted round the fine border of the picture in a circle, celebrates once more the fair Chairestratos, whose name appears on twenty-five other works of Douris' early period. The way in which the figure almost out-tops the frame reflects something of the new majesty of the conception; in place of the fire of the Brygos painter and the power and greatness of the Berlin and Kleophrades painters, it is the delicacy and care of a noble vision that arouse our admiration.

On one side of the cup the long jump is being practised and on the other throwing the javelin; on each side a bearded figure plays the pipes, dressed in a transparent, embroidered chiton with rich hems. Both figures bend a little at the knees with the exertion of playing and both wear the mouth-band which makes it easier to regulate the tone and also prevents the features from being distorted by the exertion of blowing.

Their attitude reflects something of the character of the melody; the tone of the instrument corresponded more to that of the modern oboe than to that of the flute. On both sides of the vase the movement of the athletes to the right is answered by a counter-movement, but it does not yet possess the fluidity of the Brygos painter's Gigantomachy; independent elements are simply arranged alongside each other in the archaic manner. Nevertheless, the movement grows intense as we look across the picture, from the walking arbiter on the left to the youth who

APPX. PL. 13

FIG. 4

PLATE P. 55

FIG. 8

makes ready to jump, then to another who flies through the air with legs drawn up – a uniquely bold motif – and finally to the third, who has already landed and is turning round. In each figure there is a special supple charm, which on later vases by this painter yields to an inflexible seriousness. But he always tries, as here, to make a whole out of many figures, and not to stick to the study of the single figure, as Onesimos and the Antiphon painter usually do. Thus we are indebted to him for a whole series of the most individual illustrations of legends. These vases date from the time of the Persian Wars.

PLATE P. 39

Makron is more high-spirited than Douris. This painter too, according to Beazley's attributions, has left us hundreds of vases. He is just as industrious and conscientious as Douris, but his gift for invention, especially in the illustration of legends, is not quite so marked; he is usually content simply to tell the story. He excels in depicting the shimmering radiance of women's garments – billowing expanses of colour, which are nevertheless clearly articulated and never sloppy, even if the fire of the Brygos painter is missing. The most notable of his inventions is the Aphrodite with the little Erotes fluttering round her at the judgement of Paris – Pindar's 'Mother of the Erotes' – the first in a centuries-long series of pictures of the goddess who radiates love. Nowhere else either do we find such a fine play of the senses as in his loving couples.

PLATE P. 57

His elfin charm is to be seen dewy fresh on the early cup in Basle, on which only Maenads dance. It is not often that one sees women celebrating among themselves on cups, for with Maenads go Satyrs, with *hetairai* drinkers, and other women do not suit the drinking-cup's function, which was to be used at symposia. On the cup in question the outside pictures are woven together into a connected composition. On the obverse the flowers of the palmettes by the handles swing out more freely. The pipe-player to whose music the ivy-garlanded figures are dancing is the only one who wears a cloak over her chiton. In her swift stride she bends her head so far back that she seems to be borne along more by enthusiasm than by her body. In front of her dance two pairs of Maenads, one pair on each side of the handle of the cup. The two nearer the handle dance outwards, the two further from the handle dance inwards, and it seems as if in the next moment they will exchange rôles. The inner pair stream away, as it were, from the handles – the thickest part of the vessel – like the palmette tendrils. The Maenads carry big thyrsi with clusters of ivy on clumps of narthex, which are so full that they look like playmates of the delicate maidens. Only one of the Maenads carries a skyphos, a drinking-cup. The first three look more alert, with livelier gestures, the fourth looks sunk in the ceaseless whirl of the dance.

In the middle of the other side of the cup there is a caesura, for the next dancer has her back turned to the preceding ones and faces, as though welcoming her, a more slender beauty who is like a sort of vision; she carries a vine twig in her right hand, as Dionysus often does himself. On the other side of the handle a

PLATE 13 – Arbiter, jumpers and flute-player. Cup by Douris. After 500 B.C. Basle. Diameter 10¹/₂ in. Cf. p. 53.



castanet-player dances with lively steps. Her movement leads on to the girl playing the flute, but her look and attitude make a vivacious link with the pair on the other side of the handle. The subtle nuances in the language of the drawing and modelling of these figures can scarcely be felt, let alone described, but when one turns to the inside picture one is literally amazed at the distinction of the leader. She turns enticingly to the dancers and wears only a panther skin and a red head-band instead of the ivy. Her thysus is in line with the axis of the handles, while the skin falls almost perpendicular to it and shows that we should see her as bent forward in the motion of running, not standing up straight. This magical art of the decade of Marathon is not yet concerned with static, but with flowing movement. In the Brygos painter we find powerful individuality; in Makron that mysterious supra-personal element that binds people together in Dionysian fashion.

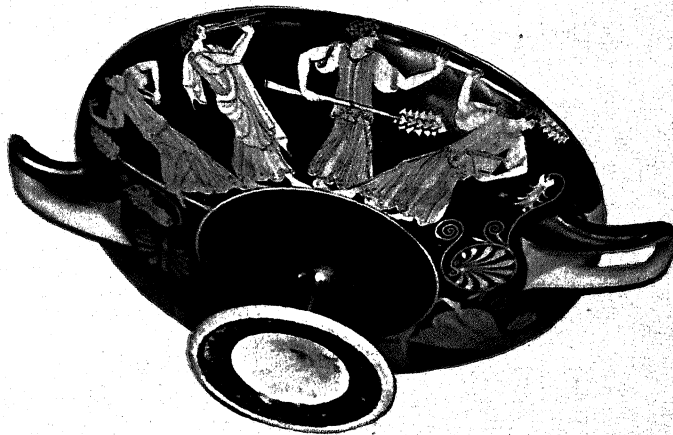
PLATE P. 59

The innovation which was to be decisive for the future emerges in masterly fashion in the Pistoxenos painter, so named after the potter of his skyphos in Schwerin. He also worked for the potter Euphronios. The impression which the bold innovator must have made on this important workshop can still be imagined if we compare his cup showing Aphrodite riding on a big goose with older works. The archaic formulas have now been completely eliminated. The master certainly painted one such white-ground cup for Euphronios, and probably at least three. His preference for this expensive technique, which competed with full-scale painting, shows that with the red-figure style the interplay between figure and background could no longer be adequately expressed. Goddess and bird dominate the radiant picture in classical unity. Not only the wings and the tendril of blossom in Aphrodite's right hand range out over the surface; so do the inscriptions and the fine encircling rings, between which and the drawing there is such an expressive tension.

FIGS. 13-26

Three firm axes bind the composition together and support it: the figure of the goddess, parallel to the tendril which indicates her tenderness; the underbelly of the swan, parallel to the left wing, with both leading towards the tendril; and finally the line of the handles, parallel to the direction of Aphrodite's gaze. The three axes intersect so far to the left of the middle of the picture that the silently powerful movement presses forward irresistibly. The linear modelling is just as delicate – the thickness of the swan's body, the feathery wings, the soft billowing and hugging of the garments. This goddess could stand in a new way. She leads us nearer to the genuine static of the figures on the temple of Zeus at Olympia, away beyond the mere autonomous tectonic of the art of the years round 480. All this serves the understanding of divine Being. The godhead does not appear in stormy movement as at the beginning of the century, but as sovereign power – here, it is true, in a quite homely and intimate form, as it can reveal itself in man. Although the Pistoxenos painter can delineate character with great charm – an old man in a parting scene, cheeky young Heracles being forced off to school, with a grey-haired,

PLATE 14 – Dancing Maenads. Cup by Makron. After 500 B.C. *Basle*. Diameter 11¹/₂ in. Cf. p. 54.



- toothless old woman accompanying him – beauty and dignity interest his noble spirit more than mere narration. His painting may be compared with the rough grandeur of Piero della Francesca.
- PLATES PP. 31, 66 This is a new style, known as the 'severe style' in contrast to the sub-archaic. Its main exponents, in addition to the Pisto Xenos painter, are the Oreithyia, Altamura and Niobid painters, and also some members of the mannerist school of the Pan painter, who makes the most original contribution to the creation of the new kind of picture. The simplicity of the compositions of this period makes a more direct appeal to us today than the variety and depth of the high classical period. As the monumental axes and parallelograms achieved by art around 480 are gradually given organic life, the new concept of Being obtains a splendid dignity. Any kind of exertion seems unknown to these gods, even when they are hurling thunderbolts. Large areas are dominated by a small number of figures. In such visions as these the language of the heart attains a supra-personal force. It is not only the individual soul that speaks to us, as in the sub-archaic, but the whole ethos of heroic characters who have a meaning for a whole community. As a result, the fire and youthful freshness of the period round 490 are lost and the drawing technique of the vases is seldom on a par with that of large-scale painting, except in a few cases such as that of the wonderful white-ground pictures of the Pisto Xenos painter.
- APPX. PL. 13, 15 FIG. 4
- PLATE P. 60
- APPX. PL. 21
- PLATE P. 31
- PLATE P. 60
- If the firm structure of many of the Oreithyia painter's pictures is reminiscent of the Dorian style, the rustling splendour of the garments has something Ionian about it. However, the firmly built surfaces are those of the Attic severe style. The jewellery work of the dainty heads is in the tradition of the most delicate sub-archaic painting – Makron's, for example. The Oreithyia painter renounces the latter's warm, rich style of drawing and seeks instead the harmony of pure symmetry. But he also essays the manner of Polygnotos and the picture of the wild North Wind is, simply as a theme, a splendid innovation.
- There is still more of the magic of nature in the Pan painter, who likes hunters and fishermen, swiftly and effortlessly floating Erotes, shoots and tendrils, the god Pan, the untouchable Artemis and the hero Actaeon, victim of the mistress of the forest. On the newly acquired Munich pelike the painter puts on one side a hurrying flute-player and on the other Perseus, a noble brother to the huntsmen whom the painter likes to depict. The hero is turning to the right and slightly bent forward. He is about to flee, but first glances back again; we can imagine on the left the collapsing body of the Gorgon whose head he holds carefully with his slender fingers – the ugly face with the distorted mouth, hanging tongue, broad nose, creased cheeks and the power to turn people into stone; but also a tragic death-mask of Poseidon's beloved, with eyes growing dim under a princely diadem. Everything is drawn with exquisite, tender precision: the somewhat old-fashioned garment, the Hades cap over the full hair, the tightly closed mouth, the short nose, the fascinated gaze. The whole composition is a 'fantasy', and perhaps in a special sense, for the flute-player on the other side is best explained if he is playing a tune that represented something out of the Gorgon legend, perhaps the hissing of the snakes. We have literary evidence for such tunes, or 'nomoi'. At any rate, the



PLATE 15 – Aphrodite: white-ground cup by the Pistoixenos painter. About 575 B.C. *London. Diameter 9¹/₂ in. Cf. p. 56.*

painter distinguishes the blue-blooded prince from the tubbier, more everyday appearance of the pipe-player, who strides along to the sound of his tune; both figures rise up in contrast to the heavy, sinking volume of the pelike. In the work of the Berlin painter, the autonomous tectonics of vessel and picture lent each other mutual support; this Perseus announces the new static in an elastic upsurge and in the domination of the surface of the vase.

The Pan painter's figures are full of character – not heroic character, but a sort of mysterious and magical natural charm. He surpasses all his contemporaries in wealth of invention and variety of draughtsmanship.

PLATES PP. 50, 51



What is peculiar to him is 'strong, even explosive movement; captivating elegance; a line that is fastidious and like the flight of a swallow; piquant contrasts; deliberate and amusing disproportions. . . forms. . . with a special preference for circle and arch, yet full of expression and tautened with life . . . He is in love with grace, not any pretty, or any ingenuous kind, but a thrice-accentuated, piquant, provocative elegance: his Charis is no silvan maiden, but a town madam; not a fawn, but a greyhound' (Beazley).

The Pan painter is one of the masters in whose work it is possible to trace the change from the beginnings of static orientation to the static solidity of the Olympia period and a new loosening up and variability in the middle of the century. The first artist we must look at in this connection is the Penthesilea painter, whose masterpiece, the Munich cup, gives the clearest idea of the possibilities of large-scale painting in the severe style, with bold, broad drawing and choice colouring. Furtwängler was so struck by the freedom and grandeur of the conception that he at first attributed the picture to a large-scale painter, not to an ordinary vase-painter; but later he noticed that the pictures on the outside of the cup were by the same hand, to whom Beazley had meanwhile traced back hundreds of vases and a large school of painters. The problem is solved when we realize that in those days there was no division between art and craft; like Picasso, the same painter could create both articles sold by the dozen and unforgettable individual works.

PLATE P. 65

The picture poses a second question: how does it come about that the woman dressed like a queen throws herself unarmed at the victor's feet and lets herself be stabbed without resisting? In the *Iliad* Achilles kills the young Lycaon although he has cast away his weapons and pleads for his life. This was as dreadful to the Greeks as it is to us and can only be explained by Achilles' fury at the death of his friend Patroclus. The Lycaon *motif* is here transferred to Penthesilea. In older pictures she is not conquered by Achilles through physical force but yields to a vision which has overpowered her inmost feelings. But the dying Amazon affects the victor so that she leaves him with a mortal wound in his own soul; his own death will soon follow. On this cup the curious foreshortening of Achilles' left shoulder is explained by the fact that he has overtaken the fleeing woman at a furious speed and has turned round to the left. He has thrown himself, as it were, straight from running into the deadly sword-thrust. But a victorious movement usually proceeds from right to left. Thus the fact that Penthesilea faces right even in earlier pictures indicates that she is the real victor.

The weird face of the Amazon dying on the right, with her hands clasped convulsively, and the warrior advancing on the left serve only to emphasize the singularity of this meeting between the most perfect male figure and the most perfect female figure. The inevitability and timelessness of the event are reflected in the severity of the axes. But these axes are so much a part of the organic structure that the action grows directly out of the nature of the participants. In this the work

PLATE 16 – Perseus. Pelike by the Pan painter. After 480 B.C. Munich. Height 15³/₄ in. Cf. p. 58.



FIG. 10 — *Hermes with the child Dionysus on a crater by the Villa Giulia painter. About 450 B.C. British Museum. Height 16³/₄ in. Cf. p. 63.*

PLATE P. 81
FIGS. 13-26

corresponds to the sculptures at Olympia, indeed its solidity is even somewhat freer. The technique, with its applied colours and a format that fills the whole inside of the cup, is just as exceptional as the conception. In comparison with the more homely Pisto Xenos painter the fullness and splendour of the colours, the bristling of the weapons and the monumental proportions of the figures are amazing.

Of similar grandeur is another cup in Munich which shows Apollo killing Tityos, while a skyphos in Boston depicting the birth of Kore from the earth in a lonely wood has an unforgettable magic about it.

Other masters such as the Niobid painter are not so independent in their attitude to the great events which were going on at that time in large-scale painting in the circle round Polygnotos. They often make copies, so to speak, of the big originals and have thus preserved for us motifs which would otherwise have been lost. They are an invaluable source for our knowledge of Polygnotos himself. One of the most important vases from this point of view is the crater in the Louvre, for it gives us a direct reflection of the composition of Polygnotos' pictures. The figures are disposed at various different levels, and on the front the ground-lines on which Heracles, Athene and the armed warriors are standing or resting are actually indicated. On the other side Apollo and Artemis are slaying the children of Niobe. In the figure of Heracles the severity of the Olympia period is already disintegrating; it is the beginning of the harmonious *contrapposto* which was to be given its canonical form by Polykleitos. The vase may accordingly be dated to about 450, soon after the pictures which Polygnotos painted in the *stoa poikile* (Painted Porch) at Athens.

PLATE P. 66

PLATE P. 115

The background should be imagined as bright and clear, the landscapes at the sides as lightly coloured. In this way the foreshortenings worked better and the

figures did not seem to stand out so harshly, but toned in with the shadows in the folds of the draperies and other details to form a more life-like contrast with the background. The richer tones of large-scale painting could be reproduced only in a simplified form with relief lines and thinned colour. Fortunately the Penthesilea cup helps our imagination to fill the gaps. But when we remember in what a life-like manner the surface of the white-ground cups of the Pisto Xenos painter was organized, we realize how much the vase fails to convey: the rhythmic tensions, to which Pausanias' description of the Polygnotan pictures at Delphi bears testimony, are considerably weakened, just as the drawing is more wooden than that of more delicate contemporaries like the Penthesilea painter. Tradition attributes to Polygnotos tricks of technique which helped to express character: faces drawn with wrinkled brows and open mouths, figures too which were only half-visible, and above all the fateful atmosphere before or after a great event. There is literary evidence that Polygnotos' early works showed this last characteristic; it is preserved in its grandest form in the east pediment at Olympia.

The Altamura painter is an elder brother, so to speak, of the Niobid painter. In many respects he seems clumsier, but newly discovered vases show that he was one of the most fertile inventors in the Ceramicus and adopted a more independent attitude to large-scale painting than the Niobid painter. Thus the Boston picture of the horrors of the sack of Troy follows the vase-painting tradition, not that of large-scale painting on which the Kleophrades and Brygos painters had based their famous versions of the theme. Artists had often depicted Neoptolemus hurling little Astyanax at Priam, although the old man had taken refuge on the altar of Zeus, and Ajax tearing Cassandra from the statue of Athena in order to rape her, but what strength there is in the axes of this picture, what bleak harshness in the frontal view of the statue, the big naked figure of Cassandra and the splendour and dignity of the king!

Simple, colossal form is also one of the aims of the Blenheim painter, who stands close to the Altamura painter, but he unites with it a charming grace and humanity. One of his vases shows a parting libation being poured by Silenus, who is setting off heavily armed for the battlefield, while a Maenad turns away in sorrow like a loyal wife. The Villa Giulia painter, too, adopts a freer attitude to large-scale painting, but he is quieter, more aristocratic, with a dry charm of his own. There are no battles and few athletes to be seen on the vases of this painter; he prefers 'young gods or the mild throng of the wine god' or 'to wander where the Muses haunt, clear spring, or shady grove or sunny hill' (Beazley).

The period from about 490 to 450 reflects the influence of the painter Polygnotos of Thasos, who outstripped all his contemporaries in force and wealth of invention. The wooden panels or plaques on which, we are told, large-scale Greek paintings were executed have all perished; the remains of frescoes would have had a better chance of being preserved. The profit to be gained by trying to imagine what we have lost is demonstrated by Goethe's invaluable essays on Polygnotos' pictures, but it was only by comparing the crater by the Niobid painter with Pausanias' descriptions of the paintings at Delphi that we came to understand Polygnotos'

PLATE P. 65

PLATE P. 59

FIG. 14

APPX. PL. 13, 15

FIG. 5

FIG. 10

LARGE-SCALE
PAINTING

PLATE P. 66

mode of composition. Individual figures and groups were arranged irregularly over the surface of the picture on different levels; they were not collected in friezes. Aristotle praises Polygnotos as a fine painter of character (ethos), which was first given literary expression in contemporary tragedy, and Theophrastus calls him, in this sense, the inventor of painting. Others, it is true, who placed the high-water mark of painting proper in the age of Alexander the Great, maintained that the art began to blossom out only after Polygnotos; Quintilian even calls him 'crude', the mere harbinger of a golden age to come.

In the temple of Athene Areia at Plataea, which was erected out of the spoils of the Persian Wars, Polygnotos painted, according to Pausanias (IX, 4, 1), Odysseus after his victory over the wooers. This is a surprising treatment of the theme, for after reading the *Odyssey* we think first of the actual execution of the dreadful vengeance, as depicted at the height of the classical period by the Penelope painter and later in the frieze at Gjölbaschi. But once Being, in Parmenides' sense, has become a conscious value and ethos is grounded in rest, we often meet such Polygnotan situations. Even the Charioteer of Delphi is portrayed quietly driving up, not in the midst of the race, and the east pediment at Olympia (about 460) shows the preparations for the drive, not the drive itself. Still more similar to this Odysseus after the slaughter of the wooers is the Heracles on a metope at Olympia, with his foot on the defeated lion in worried thought, in anticipation of his future labours. These analogies suggest that the picture at Plataea should be dated to about 460. Polygnotos is more interested in the roots and consequences of the event than in the event itself. Under his influence the psychological element becomes so strong that interpretation of the pictures is sometimes scarcely possible.

Older than the pictures at Plataea were those in the sanctuary of Theseus, which was built soon after 474, when Cimon had brought Theseus' bones to Athens. This Theseum was discovered recently on the south side of the market-place; the building commonly known as the Theseum was in reality a Hephaestum, a temple of Hephaestus and Athene. Pausanias (I, 17, 2) calls the painter of the Theseum Mikon, whom we also know as a sculptor from statue-bases on the Acropolis. But Harpokration says of Polygnotos that he painted in the 'Thesaurus' (an error in transcription for 'Theseum') and in the Anaceum (the Sanctuary of the Dioscuri). Mikon was therefore a colleague of the leading painter Polygnotos and we can discuss the works of both, which we cannot yet distinguish, together.

The Polygnotan paintings at Athens were an inexhaustible source of inspiration to the vase-painters, and it was precisely the earliest works, the paintings in the Theseum, whose style was the easiest to imitate, that were the most influential. We have supposed that a relief from the island of Melos, dating from about 470 and showing the boy Theseus in the arms of Triton, is a reproduction of a picture in the Theseum. This conception of the sea daemon, in the spirit of the severe style, is a more dignified and splendid one than that of the Panaitios painter. The carrying is taken seriously, and the two figures look at each other, one in wonder, the other timidly. The fairy tale has been transformed into a true meeting between youth and age which also conveys the solemn feeling of proximity to the divine. There are other reliefs of this kind which preserve conceptions first realized in

FIG. 32
APPX. PL. 41

PLATE P. 35
FIG. 14

FIG. 15

PLATE ON SLIP-CASE

APPX. PL. 11

large-scale painting. Archaic pictures of Theseus had a certain fairy-tale quality about them, a radiant youthful magic: 'salvation comes from youth'. Instead of this we find in Cimon's Theseum classical depth.

Theseus appears as the instrument of divine fate, and the pictures in the Theseum are enlarged into a comprehensive picture of human life: battles with Centaurs and Amazons, mythical archetypes of the Persian Wars. An especially precious example of the scenes with Centaurs is a Florentine crater which in the gestures

PLATE 17 - Achilles stabbing Penthesilea. Cup by the Penthesilea painter. About 455 B.C. *Munich*.
Diameter 17²/₅ in. Cf. p. 61.





PLATE 18 – Apollo and Artemis kill the children of Niobe. Calyx crater by the Niobid painter. About 450 B.C. *Paris, Louvre. Height 21¹/₅ in. Cf. p. 62.*

and the whole conception of the theme agrees so surprisingly with the west gable at Olympia that both must be based on the same source, the painting in the Theseum. Previously only the fighting between the Centaurs and the Lapiths – a purely male affair – had been depicted. Now the motifs of rape and drunkenness are added, motifs which stem from other sagas involving the Centaurs (Heracles' Nessus and Pholoe adventures). It is in particular this brilliant re-shaping of the theme that leads us to suppose that Polygnotos was the creator of the paintings, even if Mikon worked with him. All stages and varieties of life are now included: man and woman, youth and old age, the passion of love and the intoxication of wine. The last two are reflected in the character-portrayal, which in the pediments of Olympia is executed in close accordance with the spirit of Polygnotos – more so than in any other work which has been preserved. The antithesis between heroes and semi-animals is deepened into that between law and licence. The Centaurs break the moral law because their nature will not allow them to act otherwise, and they atone for their actions, like the tragic hero, with their lives.

Still more numerous than pictures of Centaurs on vases from the time of the Theseum are those of Amazons. Polygnotos himself produced a new version of the theme in the Painted Porch in the market-place of Athens, a building which has been dated to 456. Only the style can tell us by which of the two Polygnotan series of paintings the vases are influenced. The severe structural tension of the older ones becomes the expression of fateful energy, as in the Tyrant-slayers and the Altamura painter's Sack of Troy. The outlines are still, so to speak, meshed in with the surface, and the characteristics of painting proper predominate. On the later Amazon vases, among which the Penthesilea cup is included, the contours are more plastic and the figures are understood more organically. The new plasticity is served by three-quarter faces. The Polygnotan ethos appears in a more powerful form. But what is gained in freedom to express character is lost in the ability to show the force of destiny and divine order. Thus the older Amazon vases are probably to be traced back to the Theseum, and the later ones to the Painted Porch. Pausanias describes further pictures by Polygnotos in the sanctuary of the Dioscuri (Paus. I. 18, 1). Cimon, Themistocles' successor as leader of Athens, advocated friendship with Sparta and therefore probably stimulated the reconstruction of the sanctuary of those two favourites, Castor and Pollux, the sons of Zeus, before he was banished in 461. Here there was a picture by Polygnotos of the marriage of the Dioscuri with the daughters of Leucippus, and one by Mikon of the return of the Argonauts from Colchis, the mythical archetype of a pan-Greek expedition against the barbarians. Among the pictures of the marriage of the Dioscuri, the one closest in date and spirit to Polygnotos is that on some fragments by the Niobid painter in Halle. By a palm-tree we see one of the Dioscuri crouching on the look-out for the maidens, who are dancing round a statue of Aphrodite. The other twin carries off his captured bride on his swiftly rolling chariot. The magical variety of the situations and characters, to which we may add in imagination the old man, Leucippus, gives the impression of even greater sophistication than the paintings of the Theseum.

Through Pausanias' description we know the paintings in the *lesche* of the Cnicians

FIG. 13

FIG. 4

APPX. PL. 13, 15

PLATE P. 65

FIG. 11



FIG. 11—*The Dioscuri lie in wait for the daughters of Leucippus. Fragment of the volute crater by the Niobid painter in Halle. About 460 B.C. Height 7¹/₂ in. Cf. p. 67.*

(Cnidiens' club) at Delphi better than those in the Theseum and the sanctuary of the Dioscuri. The city of Cnidus had built this porch, in which one could wait and take counsel either before or after consulting the oracle. The pictures with which Polygnotos adorned the porch are to be understood as answers to the divine voice. Altogether they contained some one hundred and fifty figures, which Pausanias takes seven chapters to describe. Allusions to the Phocians suggest that the pictures date from the decade of Phocian predominance at Delphi, which began in 458. Polygnotos was to paint one picture dealing with the Trojan War and one dealing with the return of the heroes, and on each occasion he chose the most sombre aspect of the subject: the destruction of Troy and Odysseus' descent into Hades — the Iliupersis and the Nekyia. And this at a time when Athens was just approaching the radiant climax of her power and of classical form. That guilt and death are fated to accompany moments of expansion and glory is the profoundest perception of the classical age; it is a sort of catharsis of the old Greek pessimism. We can gain some idea of the mood of the pictures from the pelike by the Lykaon painter showing Odysseus' sacrifice at the entrance to the underworld. Polygnotos' spiritual conception of the heroes and their fate taught the world to see with fresh eyes and thus stands at the beginning of the classical period as Dante stands at the beginning of the Renaissance.

APPX. PL. 16

In the centre of the older pictures of the sack of Troy stood an altar whose sanctity was profaned by Neoptolemus murdering Priam. Polygnotos did not show this culminating outrage; the king already lay dead and Neoptolemus was continuing his furious progress. On both sides of this agitated centre-piece were disposed quieter and then again more agitated scenes, so that there was a rhythmical movement divided into five vertical zones. The counterpoise to the Cassandra scene was provided on the right by the group of captured women standing round Helen.

Aethra, Helen's nurse, reminded the spectator of the latter's youth, while the Trojan women recalled the war; and at the same time one had a presentiment of what was to happen to these people when the Greeks returned home. Thus the tranquil scene concentrated long periods of time into one fateful moment. We may imagine Helen from the Hippodameia on the east pediment at Olympia and remember Goethe's interpretation: 'Thus she appears. . . the symbol of the highest beauty. . . standing calmly among the prisoners like a princess who has the power to bind or loose. Every crime against her has the saddest consequences; her own crimes are obliterated by her presence. . . the living man sees the living woman again and rejoices in the supreme earthly good, the sight of perfect beauty.' It is remarkable how this rhythmical composition is forecast in the Iliupersis of the Kleophrades painter (cf. p. 32).

The picture of the underworld, too, should be thought of as rhythmically composed out of a fairly large number of reciprocally balanced groups, rather than as merely a series of episodes, as would appear from Pausanias' description. Homer's conception of a shadow existence after death was transformed into a clarifying mirror of earthly destinies. What we are confronted with is not a grey shadow world, nor yet the hope of redemption, but the immortality of him who has made his life into a wonder, a reminder of the tragic greatness of classical humanity; and this not just for a few individual heroes, but for a significant selection depicted as representatives of the whole world of heroes. The Iliupersis was the complement of the Nekyia in the world of the living, and *vice versa*; the effect of both pictures must have been intensified by the contrast between them: in the Nekyia the radiance of fame still glowed over the dead, while in the Iliupersis the gloom of destiny hung over the greatest victory, the most violent deeds and the supremely radiant beauty of Helen.

Pausanias does not give us such detailed information about the pictures in the Painted Porch as about those in Delphi. The two pictures in the middle (there were four altogether) showed the Athenians, under the leadership of Theseus, fighting the Amazons and the sack of Troy. Athens was glorified in the third picture too, that of the battle of Marathon. The pendant to this on the left-hand side of the Porch was a battle between Athenians and Lacedaemonians, a scene which must have evoked proud memories in the Athenians. The sanctuary of the Dioscuri had symbolized the idea of a league of all the Greeks. Since then Athens and Sparta had become enemies. The Painted Porch celebrated Athens alone, in contrast to the temple of Zeus at Olympia, which has a purely Dorian character in the spirit of the Spartans, the patrons of Olympia. Therein is reflected the split between the two leading cities, which was soon to erupt into open conflict in the Peloponnesian War, and also the intellectual superiority of Athens, in the influence of Polygnotos on the figures of the pediments of the temple of Zeus; indeed later the Athenian Pheidias was to be entrusted with the task of making the cult statue. The Painted Porch had no Nekyia; the proper place for such a picture was the sacred stillness above the temple of the Delphic Apollo and below the cliffs of Parnassus. But the same sort of tragic contest which we were able to discern in the Destruction of Troy no doubt determined the tone of the picture in the Painted

FIG. 14

APPX. PL. 16

FIG. 38

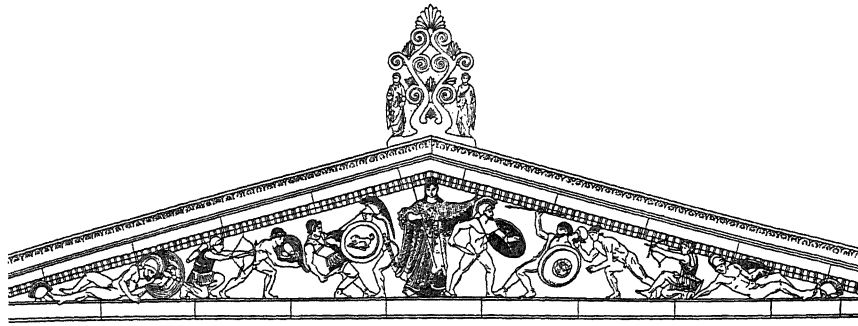


FIG. 12 – A. Furtwängler's reconstruction of the east pediment at Aegina, now corrected by D. Ohly at the Munich Glyptothek in a new arrangement of the figures to be published shortly. About 485 B.C. Cf. below.

Porch too. The painting of Troy formed the striking and monitory counterpart to the others, which extolled the renown of Athens and in which the wounded and suffering echoed the mood of the Iliupersis. Athens, with her mythical glory and radiant present, was also familiar with the ultimate fate of all earthly grandeur.

SCULPTURE
AND
ARCHITECTURE
Aegina

FIG. 12
APPX. PL. 5, 6

In spite of its small size, the island of Aegina, Athens' neighbour, was important up to the early classical period for its trade and artistic achievements. The 'tortoiseshells' of Aegina were the oldest coins in mainland Greece; there were Aeginetan trading settlements as far off as Naucratis in Egypt; Pindar celebrated several citizens of Aegina, and also wrote a solemn hymn for the consecration of the late archaic temple of Aphaia. But in 456 Aegina lost its political independence after the war with Athens; and in 431 the Aeginetans were expelled from their island and Attic colonists were installed in their place. The bronze-casting of the Aeginetans and their method of mixing ores were regarded as exemplary. The bronze head of a general found on the Athenian Acropolis is probably the work of the highly celebrated Kalon. But the best idea of this man's art is to be gained from the pediments of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina. We have no written evidence, it is true, giving the name of the artist in charge, but the island's masterpiece in the time of its most famous sculptor may be confidently attributed to his school. What makes the attribution all the more convincing is that marble had never been modelled so delicately as here; it is handled like bronze. The temple of Aphaia stands on a ridge in the lonely woods in the north-eastern part of the island. The building can be completely restored and most of the sculptures on the pediments have been preserved. Moreover, the little building – it is only 100 feet long – is perfect in every way. Its moderate proportions correspond to the Doric ideal and the boldness of the marble sculpture reflects the technical ability of the Aeginetan bronze-casters. The temple was built before 500 and has therefore been discussed in the volume on archaic art. However, the east pediment concerns us here because about 485 it had to be renewed.

The only unambiguously characterized figure is that of the archer Heracles, who wears a lion helmet, as he does on the treasury of the Athenians in Delphi, instead of the lion-skin. The theme of the pediment was thus the earlier war against Troy – never depicted anywhere else – in which Telamon of Aegina had taken part; he is to be recognized in one of the main figures in the middle. What is typically Aeginetan is the way in which individual characteristics are pushed into the background; the pediment is concerned with archetypes of warfare, with the perfect knightly attitude, the purest expression of Dorian nobility. All the details are most carefully concentrated on Being, not appearance, and in their severity leave little to the imagination. Nothing indefinite, nothing vague is tolerated; the hardness of life is refined into pure form. In this too there is poetry.

What is new about the east pediment can be seen most clearly in the fallen warrior in the left-hand corner. In the ancient East only the enemy is portrayed as dead or dying. The Aeginetan has no attribute to suggest that he is an enemy; he is simply exposed to the fate of death. A fallen warrior on the west pediment is tensed to his toes in pain, but he is so immovably modelled in archaic planes that the condition is objectivized in strict reality. Through the fallen warrior of the east pediment, on the other hand, there passes a current of plastic life which liberates the figure from the archaic planes. Sinking down weary unto death, his left hand limp, with his right he grasps his sword once more, so that we not only see the pain and mortal agony as reality, but feel it emotionally ourselves.

In the Paris of the west pediment the late archaic elastic tension is refined with the strength of bronze, but the figure still lives entirely in the radiant reality of legend. The Heracles of the east pediment stands out from the composition as a whole through its own structure; we can feel the strength of the crouching figure, who touches the ground only with the heel and the ball of the foot. In place of Attic gravity, which leads to the classical style, we meet radiant, unthinking energy. Everywhere psychological processes become visible: the fellow-feeling of the shield-bearers and, in the head of Athena, the basis of this knightly code in the form of daemonic power: seizure of the essential, of victory, intuitive feminine knowledge of what is right and proper linked to masculine will-power. Such expressiveness was made possible by the disintegration of archaic tectonics. Only now was it possible to depict transitions from one attitude to another, the vulnerability of the living body and the courage of noble breeding. Everything was seen with fresh eyes.

The bold imagination and bubbling life of Attic art and Doric discipline and perfection had always complemented each other. The Aeginetan masters did not close their eyes to the deep views into the inner life that were opening up in Attic art at that time. The relationship between Aegina and Athens is like that between Pindar and Aeschylus. Pindar is more radiant, more devoted to the past; Aeschylus is more tragic, the forerunner of the mature classical style. At Aegina and in Pindar we find the last blossoms of the old Greek aristocratic attitude. It is no longer taken for granted, as in the archaic period, but it becomes newly conscious of its worth as opposed to the democracy arising in Athens. It is really amazing how the few thousand inhabitants of this little island of Aegina asserted themselves

APPX. PL. 6

APPX. PL. 5

APPX. PL. 6

PLATES PP.

15, 25, 65, 66

and produced art so individual and so eternal. One of the last of Pindar's victory odes preserved, that of 446, closes with a blessing for Aegina, which he calls 'his dear mother' (Pyth. 8, 98):

'Creatures of a day! What are we, and what are we not?
The dream of a shadow
Is man. But when glory comes, given by God,
Then is there radiant light among men and pleasant hours.'

PLATE P. 35 The reputation of the Aeginetan bronze-casters is vouched for not only by the fact that they were always working for the richest princes of Sicily – the four-horse team and the statue of Gelon, Demarete's husband (see above, p. 35), by Glaukias of Aegina were famous – but also and even more by the commissioning of Anaxagoras of Aegina to make the victorious Greeks' votive offering at Olympia after the battle of Plataea, a statue of Zeus nearly fifteen feet high. To cast a colossal striding figure was technically a wonderful achievement. Another miracle of bronze-casting erected on the same occasion, the snake column at Delphi, was also probably the work of an Aeginetan master. It stands today in the late antique hippodrome of Constantinople, unfortunately robbed of its heads, which once supported a golden tripod. A huge upper jaw is preserved in Istanbul museum. APPX. PL. 21 In the snake column and in the statue of Zeus by Anaxagoras divinity was seen afresh: in Zeus the omnipotent omnipresence; in the snakes that supported Apollo's tripod the mysterious powers of the earth's depths in the service of the divine seer and teacher of wisdom and truth.

PLATE P. 35 Still more important than Kalon, Glaukias or Anaxagoras was Onatas, the master – so we have supposed – who created the Charioteer of Delphi. He speaks proudly of his art in a number of epigrams. Pausanias – who prefers the old-fashioned – rates him the equal of the great Attic masters whose fame has otherwise overshadowed his. In 467, for King Hiero of Sicily, he created a team of four horses at Olympia which was grouped with youths on racehorses by Kalamis. The bases of another magnificent votive offering are preserved at Olympia: heroes drawing lots to fight Hector in single combat. They stood facing Nestor, who held in his hand the helmet with the lots in it. The variety of his themes recalls the pediments of Olympia: gods, heroes and men in various stages of life, attitudes and actions; armed, clothed and naked, with horses as well. APPX. PL. 2

FIGS. 13, 14 *Athens* It was only from the mature classical period onwards that Athens held the uncontested leadership in art too. She had shared, it is true, in the creation of the geometric and ripe archaic styles, and the early classical conception of the striding, fighting god goes back to the archaic Attic promachos. We also saw earlier that the origins of the early classical style are to be sought in Athens. But no Attic sculptor of the decade round 500 was as famous as Kanachos of Sicyon or Kalon of Aegina. Kalon and other Peloponnesians were at that time producing bronze statues for the Acropolis of Athens, and the famous Attic master Kritios owes his fame primarily to the Tyrant-slayers, that is, to a historical not an artistic event. APPX. PL. 21 The paintings of Polygnotos of Thasos at Athens and Delphi overshadow the fame of early classical Attic sculpture. Yet their inner significance for the future was FIG. 4

greater than that of any other Greek school. Although according to the literary evidence Athens had to yield the palm to Aegina, the actual works that have been preserved show a spiritual superiority which is at first visible only to the observant eye. We must bear in mind that the leading works were now made of bronze. They are preserved only in a few Roman copies, such as those of the Tyrant-slayers and the portraits of Themistocles and Homer. Painting was still more important. The decline of work in marble explains why relatively few statues made after 500 have been preserved. The excellence of those bronze statues that have survived makes some amends for the loss. In addition, some of the reliefs on the treasury of the Athenians at Delphi date from shortly after 500, and the frieze of the Dorian treasury by the temple of Athena in the same place dates from about 470.

The earliest free-standing statue preserved that is not purely archaic in style is a kore from the Acropolis, the one 'with the almond eyes', who stands out from her sisters. The slender body supports the head flexibly, as a stalk supports a blossom. The left hand gathered up the dragging chiton, while the right held out a votive offering. Never before were brow and cheeks so uniformly arched, vibrating with the firm, wilful outlines of eyes and lips and closely framed by the soft splendour of the richly dressed hair. There is no sign yet of organic unity, but the archaic arrangement has become so much a matter of form to the artist that the old firmness is lost; it is only the inner emotion, the timid presentiment of the riddle of life, that carries the work and permits a language of the spirit that the world had never heard before.

A comparable work in painting is the Theseus cup by the Panaitios painter. In the pictures of Makron and Onesimos and in the Nike by Kallimachos of 490 we saw something of the stormy movement which was made possible by the liberation from archaic form, and in the kore by Euthydikos, the Fair-haired Head and the Critian Boy the reflective mood that followed this storm. Among these works from the debris of the Persian Wars – and therefore dating from before 480 – also belongs the noblest of the marble horses. It does not put its left leg forward, like its archaic predecessors, but its right, like the Critian Boy; like the latter, too, it turns its head to the right. It thus shares in the free, bold will of its masters. Archaic horses, too, held their heads up proudly, but it is only now that the interplay of forces lets their pride appear as something inward.

We meet the bold spirit of these marble works again in the buildings erected round 480, when Themistocles was the leading man in Athens. He not only created the Attic fleet, led it to the victory at Salamis and thus laid the foundations of Attic supremacy; he also gave Athens its classical walls, and even the classical conception of an Acropolis dominated by the Parthenon seems to go back to him. On Sunium, too, a plan by Themistocles for a temple anticipated one by Pericles. In the main gate of Athens, the Dipylon, Themistocles revealed himself, according to Gruben, as 'a fortress-builder of incomparable vision'. The strategic idea of enticing the enemy into the enclosed space of a deep gateway proved its worth right up to the imperial age. A wide gate was needed because here, outside the city, took place the state funerals made famous by Pericles' speech. Cleisthenes, the founder of Attic democracy, seems to have started the series of state tombs with

APPX. PL. 1

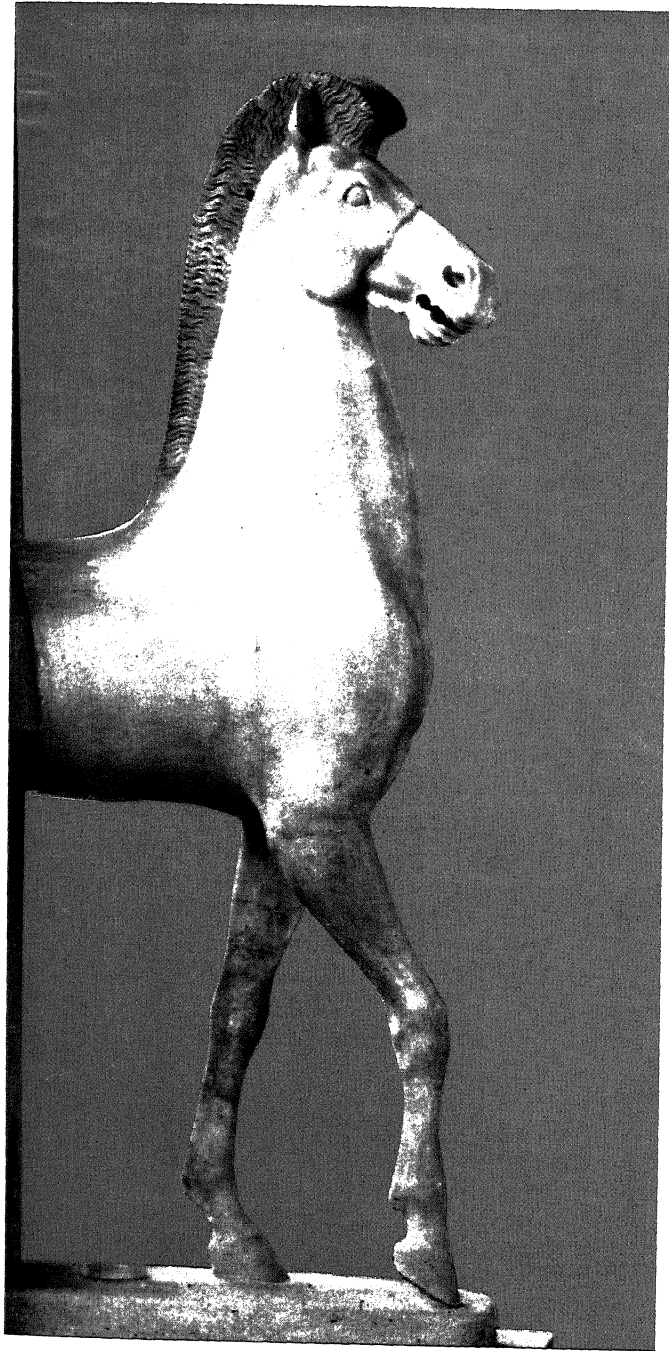
PLATES PP. 36, 39, 57
FIG. 3

PLATES PP. 15, 25
APPX. PL. 3

PLATE P. 74

FIG. 9

FIG. 45



the graves of the Tyrant-slayers. The road was also used for other events, such as the marshalling of the procession at the great Panathenaic festival (cf. pp. 28, 123 f.). The idea of an Acropolis dominated by the Parthenon preceded the victory over the Persians. This is the first expression in architecture of the desire to replace the archaic multiplicity of smaller buildings with classical unity. The Parthenon was to be so big that it made the whole rock seem like its base. The huge supporting walls of the citadel which were completed under Cimon give the conglomeration of rocks unity without doing violence to nature, as has been customary since the time of the Romans. Nevertheless, in order to give the temple the proportions in relation to the rock citadel which seem to us today so natural it was necessary on the south side to take the foundations down thirty feet into the rock. More than 10,000 cubic yards of hewn stone were used in the task. Themistocles' Parthenon was to be over 200 feet long, so as to form a real crown for the citadel, which is itself over 300 yards long. However, the builders did not dare to make it correspondingly wide because they did not wish to exceed the traditional number of six columns in the façade. There were sixteen columns down each side. Thus behind the three-aisled space for worship they were able to include a space for the state treasure and for votive offerings.

The synthesis of Doric and Ionic forms was as capricious as it was later on in the classical Parthenon we know today: instead of the normal *pronaos* with two columns between the *antae* it was the aim in each case to have a second row of four columns in front of the *cella*, in accordance with Ionic tradition. Moreover, the remains of the *antae* have an Ionic profile; Ionic, too, was the plan to build the whole temple of marble. Themistocles' Parthenon was to be the first marble temple in the Doric style. So the extreme care with which the work was executed was bound up with the life of the light-coloured stone. The Persians destroyed the half-finished building in 480, but the plan was not forgotten and under Pericles was re-shaped into the perfection of the present Parthenon, which today still forms the centre of the classical world. The mistress of the temple became the symbol of Athens' new empire. This was understood in Persepolis, for the original plan of the palaces there was at that time subordinated to a huge porch (*apadana*) which dominates the whole like the Parthenon.

Many schools of sculpture which had flourished in the archaic period succumbed after 500 to the power of Persia or Athens. In the Ionian area only Paros remained important, while in the Dorian territories Sparta sank into the background, obviously because all her energies were absorbed by the effort to maintain her supremacy alongside and against Athens. Argos became the most important artistic centre after Athens; Polykleitos of Argos is always named alongside the Athenian Pheidias. This artistic upsurge went hand in hand with a rise in political power. In the sixth century and up to the time of the Persian Wars Argos had been held down by the hegemony of Sparta. As late as 492 Cleomenes of Sparta had

FIG. 9

FIG. 33

Argos

PLATE 19 — Racehorse of Parian marble. About 485 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Height 3 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cf. p. 73.

defeated the Argives in a battle at Tiryns. But after the Persian Wars Argos became more powerful and ranged herself on the side of Athens. In the second quarter of the century Tiryns and Mycenae were conquered. Argos gained greater influence at Olympia; we know of important votive offerings from the hands of Argive artists (Hageladas, Glaukos and Dionysios). From such a bronze votive offering, a team of four horses, comes the horse that embodies the powerfully compact nature of this landscape in perfect arching and articulation and the finest chiselling. In comparison the Attic horse appears fragile, and even Aeginetan works seem less solid and taut. The plain of Argos is fertile farmland; enclosed on three sides by mountains, on the fourth it opens on to the bay of Nauplia. The Argives did not grow soft; in spite of the riches of their land they had to be ceaselessly on the watch on their mountain walls. Art sees them as broad, earnest and heavy, like their mountains.

PLATE P. 77

PLATE P. 74

So far as we know, the founder of the Argive classical school was Hageladas. A famous work of his was his Zeus striding out with the thunderbolt, probably created about 500 for Messene, the prototype of the of the huge Zeus by Anaxagoras and of many bronze statuettes. The most splendid answer to it was the Poseidon of Cape Artemisium, as we shall see. A bronze Heracles by Hageladas, known as the *alexikakos* or warder-off of evil, stood in Athens. One thinks of the archer Heracles equipped with every weapon on an amphora with twisted handles by Euphronios in the Louvre, for in this picture the hero stands on a base. The work dates from shortly after 500 and may well be the oldest conscious reproduction of a statue in painting.

APPX. PL. 21

The foundation of our knowledge of the Argive school are the terracottas found in sanctuaries, more particularly in the Argive Heraeum and at Tiryns, but also in graves. In all of them the peplos, the heavy woollen garment, is divided into a lower part with vertical folds and a smooth upper part. Thus the elements lie in peaceful dignity over each other and only a few broad gestures connect the two parts. The garment becomes a tectonic symbol of the structure of the body. We meet the same conception in bronze statuettes, especially in figures supporting mirrors and in vases bearing Argive inscriptions.

PLATE P. 78

Figures of maidens as handles or bearers of instruments are an oriental motif, which was transformed in archaic Greece, especially in Sparta, Corinth and Sicyon. The charm of the remodelling in the early classical period consists in the conversion of a tectonic link into a static one. There is now an independent dignity in the art of carrying. These Nymphs approach the beauty who looks at herself in the gleaming, golden disc of metal as messengers of the world of the gods, with Erotes fluttering round them. Budding tendrils, archetypes of life, connect the head with the perfect curve of the disc, which is wreathed with rosettes, hares, cocks and other symbols of love.

The Argive temperament was the opposite of the Ionian. It was not brilliant, quick-witted and full of graceful charm; its greatness and individuality lay in its sense of order and tradition. Order was felt in the balanced relationship between bearing up and weighing down and finally achieved its classical formulation in the canon of Polykleitos. But it was no accident that the canonical Doric temple had

PLATE P. 136



PLATE 20 – Bronze horse from a team of four. After 470 B.C. *Olympia*. Height $9\frac{1}{10}$ in. Cf. p. 76.



already been created by collaboration between Argos and Corinth. These forms based on laws were steadily developed with a feeling for their origins which had nothing reactionary about it. There was no question of clinging rigidly to old forms; on the contrary, new ones were discovered, in which tradition was compactly and powerfully rejuvenated, so that the whole of Greece was influenced by it. Even in the stormy decades of the early classical period the Argives held fast to inherited severity and thus worked as a beneficially conservative element in a civilization that was developing with frantic speed and was always threatening to burn itself out.

The early classical types of figure developed in Argos – the woman in a peplos and the striding, fighting god or hero – made their influence felt in the rest of Greece. Both types may well go back to Hageladas. A master who had invented such successful forms must also have influenced the most important work preserved in the Peloponnese, the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

When the sculptures of the temple of Zeus were freshly published by Buschor and Hamann in 1923 the most perceptive readers felt that here was what they had been looking for: an inner continuity in the multiplicity of Being; here the divine gave shape to life and embraced even the wild and ugly; there was no question of order being violently imposed on life from outside. It was as if the classicistic scenery had collapsed to reveal the tragic reality behind. Buschor concludes his introduction with these words: '[The Apollo of the west pediment] is a turning-point, and not only in that epoch. Anyone who has seen it can never turn back.' The inward and outward dimensions of the statues on the temple of Zeus are such that no picture, no description can give any real idea of them. They impress the visitor to the museum at Olympia as a giant breed from a higher world.

It was a Dorian speciality to build bodies up firmly from inside. In the Olympia sculptures this coalesces with the Ionian, 'painter's' way of modelling from the surface in a peculiar synthesis which alone made possible the linking of such huge sculptural masses in one composition. This synthesis was the personal achievement of a master who lived in Athens, was perhaps himself responsible for the Fair-haired Ephebus, and above all had been exposed to the influence of the mighty work of Polygnotos. His synthesis has a surprising affinity with the character of the fertile, even lush, yet at the same time austere landscape round Olympia.

In reconstructing the pediments it was possible to proceed on the same assumptions as at Aegina. The place where the fragments were found and the condition of their surface often showed where and in what position the statues had stood – protected by the roof or exposed to the weather. The size and outline of most of the groups in the west pediment make their position certain right away. In difficult cases assistance must be sought from the character and gestures of the figures. Here the problem of positioning is linked with that of interpretation, which Pausanias' description does not make as easy as we could wish.

*Sculptures on the
Temple of Zeus at
Olympia*

PLATE P. 81

FIG. 13

PLATE P. 25

PLATE 21 – Mirror, supported by a 6-inch-high Nymph. Bronze. About 450 B.C. *Basle. Cf. p. 76.*

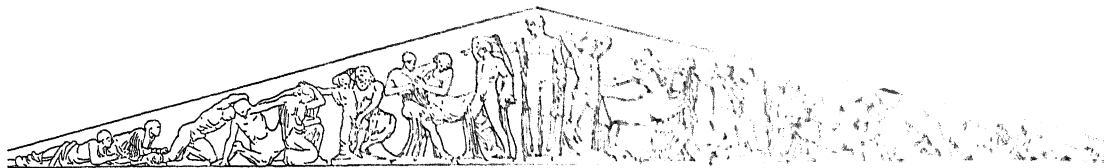


FIG. 13 — *Reconstruction of the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. About 460 B.C. Cf. below.*

FIG. 13

In the west pediment it was only the arrangement of the groups on each side of Apollo that was for a time disputed. It was agreed that, as at Aegina, the decisive, victorious gesture must proceed from the god: the Centaurs flee before him. The adoption of the fight with the Centaurs as the theme of the west pediment was possibly stimulated by the fact that in neighbouring Arcadia, at Pholoe, Heracles had overcome the drunken Centaurs. However, it is not a deed of Heracles that is depicted here, but Theseus and Peirithous, who at the latter's wedding had to protect the Lapith women because the Centaurs in their intoxication wanted to lay hands on them. This transformation of the theme can only be explained by the influence of Polygnotos' painting. This surmise is confirmed by the fact that this Olympian treatment of the fight between the Centaurs and the Lapiths does not appear before Polygnotos; hitherto only fighting between the armed men and the Centaurs had been depicted, but Polygnotos took the situation at the wedding feast seriously and combined all the motifs of the other, older battles with the Centaurs — fights between men, drunkenness, kidnapping of boys and maidens; and we find the same motifs in the pediment. Unfortunately we do not know whether in Polygnotos' picture too, as in the pediment, Apollo was the real victor; we might well suppose so, for what is decisive is that the spiritual power triumphs, the god's psychological weapons, while Athena in the east pediment at Aegina had had to interfere more directly.

FIG. 12

Apollo stands in the middle of the pediment, unseen by the fighters, and makes his decision known with the imperious gesture of his right arm. The wonderful power of the hand, especially the divine hand, is emphasized in many early classical works. The attitude of Apollo is all gesture; it reflects his essential nature, the triumph of the human figure. Above him on the apex of the temple hovered the goddess of victory. So that the perpendiculars and horizontals in the figure and gaze of Apollo may speak out uninterruptedly, the right side is tensed and the left scarcely less so. We are familiar from the seventies with the firm structure of axes as an expression of Being, but the divine will had never spoken from it as here, or been linked with the new feeling for the human body and made manifest in the turning of the crowned princely head. The bronze bow — sparkling like gold — in the left hand and the red cloak falling down behind intensified the radiance of the light-toned body. One must also visualize the gold of the hair, the radiance of the eyes and the red of the lips. All the other figures were just as brightly coloured. As usual, the background of the relief was blue. In Apollo's lower lip, which is pushed out, there is

something of the hardness of victory and in the lower part of the face there is physical strength, but the eyes are wide open under the mighty brow and gaze from beneath heavy lids with an authority which is indicated by the severe mouth with its firm lips. The ear, whose shape is followed by the waves of the hair, recalls the harmonies of the god of the lyre and Pindar's First Pythian Ode:

'Golden phorminx, property of Apollo
And the violet-locked Muses...'

PLATE 22 – Apollo and Centaurs with Lapiths, from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (museum arrangement). Before 456 B.C. *Original height 10 ft. Cf. pp. 79 ff. and Fig. 13 (correct arrangement).*

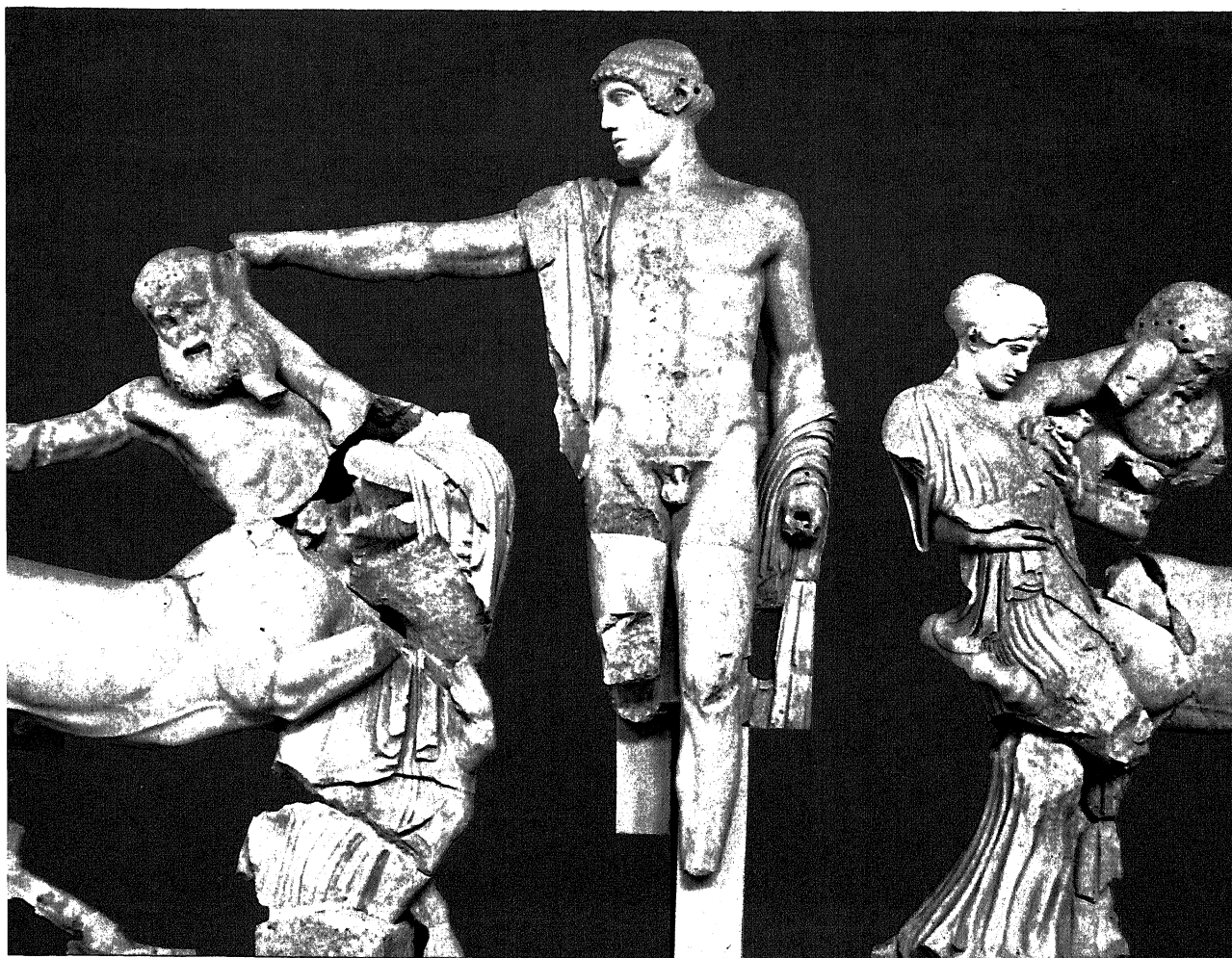


PLATE P. 136
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PLATE P. 125

It is clear from this spiritual Polygnotan conception that the master worried less than his Argive contemporaries about the ponderation of the body. For this reason figures of the pediment are less plastically modelled than the Aeginetan ones or those of the Parthenon pediments; this master is concerned, like Polygnotos, primarily with the total artistic effect. It is not by outward command that Apollo calms the chaos around him, but by the inward power of his figure. Therefore the figure is pure measure, all spirit, permeating the world.

FIG. 13

The groups on each side of Apollo are surprisingly different in workmanship: on the left that of Peirithous, who frees his bride with the sword; on the right that of Theseus, swinging the swiftly seized sacrificial axe against another of the would-be ravishers. The Peirithous group is plastically more mobile and stems from the sculptor of the Zeus on the east pediment; the Theseus group is more flatly and more tectonically constructed, in the style of the Oenomaus sculptor of the east pediment. It is characteristic of this sculptor that he conceals important articulations of the body under the garments and arranges his draperies in shallow folds. If one has noted the difference between the Zeus and the Oenomaus sculptors, one can see that while the Apollo was designed by the Zeus sculptor many of the details, especially in the robes, were executed by the Oenomaus sculptor. The Theseus group is spiritually nearer to the attitude of Apollo, with his unrestricted accomplishment of the will. The head of Theseus repeats that of the god to the extent allotted to a hero: chin and mouth are smaller, the cheeks softer, the ear more delicate, but in the whole and in the devotion of the attitude one senses the presence of the god.

In the bridal group on the left the rape becomes a wooing. The dramatic entwining of the bodies is condensed in the grappling movement of the arms, and the counterpoise of the forces supports the bodies as if they had coalesced into one single figure. The Centaur's head was garlanded and produces the effect of princely nobility as compared with his comrades, but it already displays a gaping wound. Peirithous, who as far as we can tell from the fragments preserved corresponded exactly to Harmodius, will kill the prince of the Centaurs with the next stroke of his sword. The bride's face is almost devoid of outward movement, but the slightly parted lips suggest a profound fear which is entirely inward.

Buschor tried to distinguish five masters, who together executed first the sculptures on the east front of the temple and then those on the west front. It is certainly true that the Theseus group and the Peirithous group reflect two different artistic temperaments which we shall meet again in the east pediment. Just as different are the groups next to them in the west pediment: on the left the rape of the boy and the wrestling group, and on the right the biting group and the stabbing group. A fifth master seems to have been responsible for the four figures at the corners. The sculptor of the rape of the boy and the wrestling group is known as the Wrestling Master, that of the biting and stabbing groups, in accordance with Buschor's suggestion, as the Hippodameia Master, and that of the corner figures as the Chrysippus Master. Each of these master sculptors had his assistants. The Zeus Master enjoyed a predominant position. It was obviously he who created the Fair-haired Ephebus at Athens and was thoroughly familiar with the work of Polygnotos; he

APPX. PL. 12

PLATE P. 25

must have been responsible for the preliminary models of both pediments. In these models only the motifs, the attitude of the figures, the balance of the masses and the unifying rhythm were firmly laid down. Buschor and Schweitzer have shown that one chief sculptor, Pheidias, was responsible for the decoration of the Parthenon at Athens too, while in the fourth century according to tradition two different sculptors were responsible for the two pediments of the temple of Asclepius at Epidauros; but the masters of Epidauros had to provide life-size models. At Olympia on the other hand the small preliminary models allowed a certain degree of freedom to those co-operating in the execution of the work, and more use was made of this freedom at Olympia than at Athens. The period was marked by a splendid individuality and a self-awareness that speaks most forcibly from the portrait of Themistocles.

The Zeus Master is a stranger to the delicacy and subtlety of Ionic-Attic work in marble, although the figures of the pediment are executed in Parian marble. His visions of expressively moving masses are rooted in the Dorian style, and this Doric heaviness and power are curiously linked with the Polygnotan pictorial style. His nearest colleague, the Oenomaus Master, preserves more of the native, harsh, Dorian tradition, while the younger sculptors, to whom we now turn, follow the path of the Zeus Master.

Smaller, two-figure groups follow, in which only the foreparts of the Centaurs are fully three-dimensional. One of them is ravishing a boy, the cup-bearer of the feast. The size of the muscular hand of the Centaur in proportion to the body of the boy which it is seizing contributes to the enormous scale of the work. The boy has swung back both arms to strike the old Centaur. A Lapith has jumped on to the back of the other Centaur, so that he has collapsed. He is biting the Lapith, who is strangling him, in the arm, and the Lapith's huge, wild face is distorted with pain. He wears a leather headband in his curly hair and his ears are swollen like a boxer's. In the noble old head of the Centaur the sculptor has got very near to the Polygnotan way of depicting character. Plasticity interests him less. He nonchalantly lets the left upper thigh of the Lapith disappear into his clothing.

In the wider three-figure groups at the sides Centaurs are trying to flee with the maidens they have kidnapped. The Centaur on the left is pulled to the ground by a Lapith with a wrestling movement; the one on the right is stabbed. The left-hand group is more energetically articulated from the plastic linear point of view; it is by the same sculptor as the neighbouring group of the boy being abducted. The variety of the opposing forces is reduced to simple, big form. The faces are built up by addition in the old-fashioned way; the Centaur's is like a mask, the Lapith woman's not so noble as the bride's and more maidenly in character: the women of the pediment are just as clearly differentiated in character as the men. The group of three on the right is the product of another temperament, the sculptor of the Hippodameia on the east pediment. The motif itself indicates the different movement of the group. The figures are more independent; they are not drawn into the corner of the pediment like the wrestling group, but seem rather to press the slanting edge of the pediment upwards, because no continuous movement runs through them. Individually, too, the forms are more self-contained; they are not

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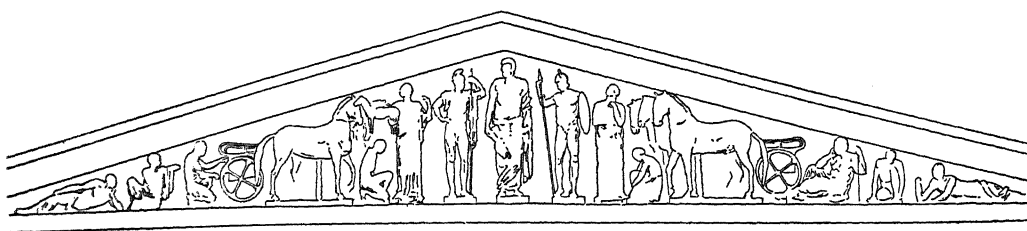


FIG. 14 – *The east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. About 460 B.C.*

subordinated to plastically dominating forces. The parallelism between the surfaces of the Centaur's body and the Lapith woman's garment is significant. It is in keeping with such individuation that the newly found head of this Lapith woman, with its open mouth and look of horror, is, from the point of view of passion, the most splendid of the whole pediment. But in classical art expression is not surrendered to the moment, for this kind of art is concerned with the abiding elements of character, of the individual being, not with the fleeting second. Indeed it is only in the encounter with destiny that beauty and greatness of soul are revealed.

In the corners of the pediment lie young serving girls who have found shelter there, clasping to their shoulders the peploi which have been torn down in flight. In front of them, on cushions on which the guests had been reclining, creep old housekeepers, horror in their faces and gestures. Of these four prostrate figures, only the two in the right-hand corner are preserved fairly complete in the original version; the others were replaced by copies after an earthquake in Roman times. Thus the artistic purpose of these figures is no longer completely fulfilled; it was, in Polygnotan fashion, to interpret the event through its effects and thus to respond to Apollo's gesture.

If we look at the work as a whole we are reminded of Pindar's saying that all creatures are descended from one mother; here there is no dualism of light and dark. There are wild beings among the Lapiths and strong noble natures even among the Centaurs. Many scholars have mistakenly regarded Apollo as the youthful Zeus or even as Peirithous. He stands in the middle because his Being occupied the early classical period more than any other god; by carrying out the will of Zeus he embodies the order that gives shape to life.

FIG. 14 The east pediment takes us from the wild heroic landscape of the west gable to the site of the Olympic games. It shows us the mythical archetype of the chariot race, the noblest of sports, as seen at Olympia every four years; but here on a still grander scale, fraught with heroic greatness and tragedy, with kings and heroes, the mothers of famous families, prophets and retainers. In the middle stands Zeus, not subordinate to fate as he is elsewhere in the Greek imagination, but as Aeschylus saw him, the essence of the highest justice, fate itself. To understand him, one must know the surroundings which he rules, 'unseen but not invisible'. Instead of the events themselves we see the ominous preparations.

Oenomaus, the original king of the land, would only give his daughter Hippodameia to the wooer who could beat him in a race to the altar of Poseidon on the Isthmus. Since his horses were a present from Ares he overtook every wooer and killed him. He had already killed twelve when Pelops appeared, gained Hippodameia's love and won the race because he had persuaded Oenomaus' charioteer to pull the pins out of the axle of the royal chariot.

The arrangement of the figures in the middle is conclusively indicated by Zeus's gesture. Excitement has caused the god's cloak to slip from his left shoulder and with his right hand he is angrily grasping his robe, like Hermes in the Orpheus relief. The angry gesture can only be directed against Oenomaus, who in his stiff-necked hubris forms the strongest contrast to Zeus and must therefore be put to the left of him. Oenomaus' mouth is open; he has therefore just announced the outrageous rules of the race, rules that are to seal his own fate. Now we understand why the soothsayer on the left replies so excitedly to Zeus's gesture, while the one on the right rests his chin anxiously on his hand and shares the serious mood of Pelops and Hippodameia, who are to the right of Zeus. It is only in this arrangement that the long spears of Oenomaus and Pelops can find room in the slanting pediment alongside Zeus; their shoulder-lines then fit in with the downward slope. Now we understand, too, why on Pelops' side there is a team of horses without a groom. He will drive himself and take Hippodameia with him, in a curious mixture of race and kidnapping; Oenomaus will drive with the charioteer who kneels behind his team, while a boy in front, likewise kneeling, holds the reins.

Polygnotan character portrayal speaks out from every figure, and there are many subtle touches to be observed. Zeus is removed from the action in a different way from the Apollo of the west pediment. Apollo carries out Zeus's will, but the father's gesture proceeds from his own inward emotion, which is visible in the mobile stance, itself an almost Polykleitan counterpoise of forces. The straight right leg is balanced by the heavy golden thunderbolt in the lowered left hand, and the moving left leg by the moving right arm, from whose hand the edge of the cloak leads energetically to the left knee. This oblique line is crossed by others formed by hems and folds, so that a counter-movement is created to the traditional verticals and horizontals of the basic structure. Heavily flowing folds shroud the powerful, muscular body in a pictorial, Polygnotan movement of masses. Tremendous strength is still hidden; one thinks of the picture of the lap of the gods, in which the lots of destiny rest. Strength blazes out like a spark only in the gesture. Everything must have been concentrated in the head, in the angry turn towards Oenomaus. The head of the soothsayer on the right, that of Apollo and the heads of the Peirithous group, especially that of the Centaur prince, enable us to form some idea of what has been lost here. The Homeric conception of the invisible but decisive presence of the gods is here made manifest in the most powerful way.

In the figure of Oenomaus reversed correspondences intensify the harshness of the attitude; the softer cloak over the right shoulder corresponds to the relaxed leg, the abrupt fall of the folds over the left upper arm to the leg bearing the weight. The left hand holds the spear with which he has killed so many wooers, the right

FIG. 52

hand is confidently resting on the hip, the brow is furrowed and the mouth, open in speech, discloses the upper teeth. Sterope's attitude, like Hippodameia's, is a revealing echo of her companion's. The much admired Argive style of dress combines with the self-satisfied touching of the veil and the turn of the head to express an ethos that recurs in many female heroes; we are reminded of Clytemnestra's imperious pride, of matriarchy and of the burden of tradition.

Pelops and Hippodameia, even in their outward dimensions, are neater and more mobile. Pelops' dignity as the ancestor of the great Mycenaean race is emphasized by his shield and spear, armour and helmet. This weighty equipment may have been one of the rules of the race. The danger of the hour is indicated by the fact that Pelops holds his spear in his right hand. To judge by the traces of the fastenings, he wore leather armour, which was represented by gilded bronze plate. The standing pose, with the right side free, is often found in Argos; it makes him face his god. But he shyly bows his head; what is going on in his mind appears more clearly in Hippodameia. She wears no festive bridal gown, but her simple maidenly peplos, which is open on the side next to Pelops. With anxiously propped arm she looks straight in front of her. Through her free leg and the left forearm a gesture runs, ending in the face. That the culmination of this gesture has not been preserved is a serious loss. In all the main figures the experience of the moment is more condensed than the apparent tranquillity of the composition as a whole would lead one to suppose. Hippodameia is so deeply moved by her anxiety that the sheer drop of the folds on her right-hand side and the horizontal line of the right forearm are needed to give the figure as a whole a firm structure. The serving-maid to the right of Hippodameia is tying up her shoes before the departure. The simple action became the symbol of an inner nearness in which the enormous tension is slightly relaxed. Archaic gestures provide a narrative accompaniment to the dramatic event. Classical attitudes become the expression of the individual's nature. In the work of the Hippodameia Master, to whom we are indebted for this group, we have already met, in the stabbing group, subtle penetration into the individual; powerful plastic modelling, comprehensive flowing of the folds and delicate movement of the hems, which is somewhat reminiscent of Parian art. The same delicacy of inner modelling as in the serving-maid is found again in Pelops' team, while that of Oenomaus, with its stronger emphasis on clean outlines, is somewhat more flatly modelled. The animals are real racehorses, slender, long-legged, with small heads, very different from the delicate fire of the marble horses from the Acropolis. The realistic animals of the severe style – the horses of Kalamis, Myron's cow – remained famous because the realism is not superficial; it also shows understanding of the animals as characters. This possibility was lost to later classical art, which sought after the universal, as in Goethe's *Urpferd*, the 'ideal horse' of the Parthenon. The horses relax the tension of the composition, which otherwise would have been unbearable, but it tautens again in the soothsayers, who answer Zeus's gesture, the innermost happening, which is still hidden from the heroes. In the case of the seer on the right, the link with the centre is strengthened by the fact that he is the work of the Zeus Master. Over the withered body are piled heavy folds of clothing, and the whole attitude reflects inward emotion, as in the figure of Zeus. The left

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PLATE P. 74

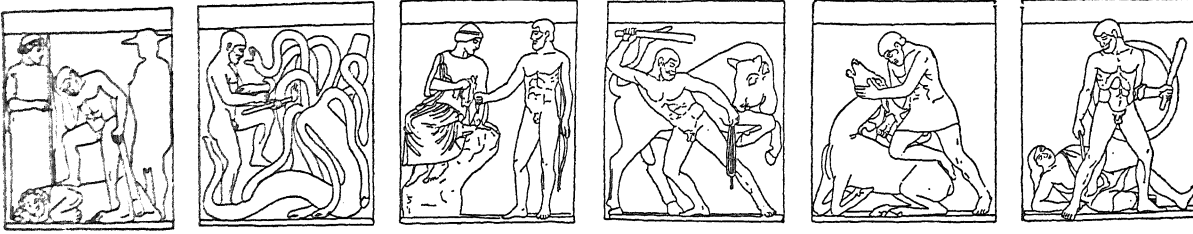
FIG. 34 RIGHT

arm held a sceptre; the right is thoughtfully bent to the chin. The portrait of old age had already been discovered by archaic art, but now it is elevated to a position of the greatest dignity, especially in the portrait of Homer. The old man seems to foresee more than the defeat of Oenomaus. We think of the sombre fates of the children of Pelops and Hippodameia, of Atreus and Thyestes. With the seer's wisdom, with his daemonic character, goes the curse of having to foresee all disaster to come, including the sad destiny of the naked boy crouching on the ground behind him. Chrysippus, the son of Pelops and a Nymph, was an example of fateful beauty, like Helen in the painting of Polygnotos. Laius of Thebes loved and abducted him; Atreus and Thyestes later killed him from jealousy. He is given prominence by the bold transference to pediment sculpture of a painter's invention with which we are acquainted from the Naxos coin. Painting had employed bold abbreviations of this sort since 520; they were only introduced into free-standing sculpture in the early Hellenistic period. The charm of the frontal view is intensified by the contrast between the body and the delicate folds of the cloak on which the boy is squatting and which also softly enfolds his back and left arm. The left hand is gripping one end of the cloak. If in doing so it playfully touches the toes, there is something in this of the unconscious unrest of the sultry storm which is almost on the point of breaking out in the excitement of the boy's prostrate neighbour.

Pausanias calls the corner figures of the east pediment 'river-gods'. But according to traditional representations at least the older of the two – the one in the left-hand corner – would have to be bearded. So Pausanias' authorities have made a mistake. We must seek a similar interpretation to that of the Lapith women in the corners of the west pediment: they must be concerned in the central event. Figures lying on the ground can only be servants lolling about on the bank of the race-course and watching their masters; only sitting would be appropriate to wooers. The clear, linear outline of the man lying in the right corner indicates a different artistic temperament from that of the Chrysippus Master, who executed the other corner figures. It must be the work of the sculptor of the wrestling group. In the powerful rhythm of the upward straining figure the Wrestling Master shows himself influenced by Pythagoras, who worked in Magna Graecia and combined the Ionic elements of his origin with the Doric of his new homeland; we have evidence that there were statues by Pythagoras at Olympia. Energetic force is condensed in the outline of the skull and in the chin. The eyes are wide open, the delicate mouth tensed; a keen wind seems to be blowing into the uneasy sultriness.

The left side of the pediment, the Oenomaus side, is heavier, more serious and more sombre. In the full masculine body of the spectator in the corner there is a sort of dull weight. He is portrayed broadly, pictorially and realistically, like the corner figures on the west pediment and that of Chrysippus, and thus differs sharply from the work of the plastically linear Wrestling Master. Next comes the seer, who is terrified at Zeus's gesture and seems to be drawing his cloak across his face with his left hand in order to hide his eyes from the horrors to come. In the manner of the Oenomaus Master he is plastically less fully articulated than his counterpart. In the man kneeling next to him we can recognize Myrtilus, Oenomaus' charioteer. The arms held out before him were busied with the chariot

APPX. PL. 10



FIGS. 15-26 - *The Labours of Heracles on the metopes of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. About 460 B.C. From left to right: 15 - The Nemean Lion; 16 - The Hydra; 17 - The Stymphalian Birds; 18 - The Cretan Bull;*

which was to be fatal for Oenomaus. The rough, untidy garment over the heavy-limbed body recalls the slave in the left corner, by the Chrysippus Master. The prince Oenomaus has yet more retainers: in front of the horses kneels a youth holding their reins, a deliberately bright contrast to his sombre surroundings. The plastic articulation is that of the Wrestling Master, though here still freer and fairer in line. The horses which he holds, too, are neater, drier and cleaner in contour than the broader and more temperamentally portrayed horses of Pelops, which are by the Hippodameia Master.

As a whole, we have here an incomparable wealth of sharply delineated characters, stages of life, classes, men and animals, corresponding perfectly to the later works of Polygnotos, while the west pediment follows the old picture of the Centaurs in the Theseum. Thus if the west pediment is more old-fashioned in design, in its execution it is riper and more harmonious. The order in which the sketches were made need by no means be that in which the sculptures were executed. The Zeus Master wanted an intensification from west to east: at the back, simple, grandiose events, on the east front a deeper analysis of heroic tragedy: not only in the hubris of the royal pair but also in the love and courage of Pelops and Hippodameia glory and fame are linked with horrible destinies. The subsidiary figures, too - the seer and Chrysippus - are seen from the point of view of fate, and perhaps more fate than we know is hidden in the great corner figures. No other Greek work has been preserved in which tragic vision speaks out so forcefully in the movement of the lines and colours, the bodies and the masses, from the solid centre right to the corners, in living harmony with the huge structure of the building. After absorbing the grim, mysterious depths of the east pediment one gladly returns to the west pediment, in which the possibilities of heroic life appear more directly and more radiantly, in harmony with the archetype of the god.

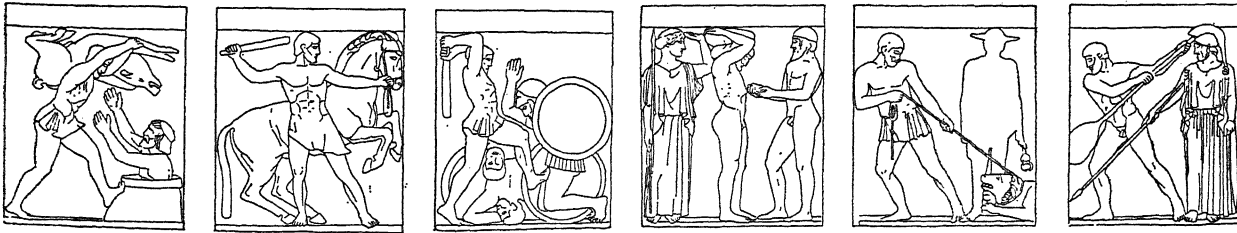
FIGS. 13, 14

FIGS. 15-26

FIG. 38

The metopes of the temple, with their authoritative and readily intelligible pictures, are nearer in spirit to the west pediment than to the east pediment; they lead the visitor, as it were, along the path to the mystery. They are the biggest Greek metopes known to us. Six stand over the front of the cella and six above the back.

The cross-section of the temple gives some idea of the vastness of its dimensions; in relation to the whole the colossal metopes look small. For the first time the story of Heracles' heroic life is told in a cycle of twelve deeds, a cycle to be repeated



19 – *The Hind*; 20 – *The Amazon*; 21 – *The Boar*; 22 – *The Horses of Diomedes*; 23 – *The Giant Geryon*; 24 – *Atlas brings the Apples of the Hesperides*; 25 – *Cerberus*; 26 – *The Cleansing of the Augean Stables*.

so often in later art; for the first time the aim is to understand the destiny of Heracles, instead of just to portray individual deeds, as in the innumerable archaic pictures of the hero. Heracles had once planted at Olympia the shady olive-trees which he had fetched from the Hyperboreans. Now the metopes relate how through unending labours he attained immortality, to become the archetype of all victors. The decisive scenes are in the middle over the porch of the cella: the victory over Geryon, the triple-bodied daemon of death, and the winning of the golden apples of the Hesperides. Next to these on the front are the descent into the underworld, the fetching of Cerberus, and the cleansing of the Augean stables, because Heracles performed this deed in Elis, the countryside round Olympia.

If the pictures of immortality were to be shown on the front, the narrative had to begin at the back. At the beginning and the end the protective figure of Athene frames the series of labours. The brilliant inventive powers of the Zeus Master are re-affirmed in the very first metope. On innumerable occasions art had depicted the most violent of the struggles, the one with the lion. The Zeus Master renounces any attempt to show the actual fight; such a picture would hardly have carried any conviction in his enlightened age. Heracles, still a beardless youth, has his right foot on the neck of the lion which he has strangled and rests his head in his hand, seeing in advance his whole burdensome life. The brow is furrowed, the mouth open. The young man, conscious for the first time of the sombre side of life and accepting it, reminds us of the expression of the Fair-haired Head, which may well be an early work of the Zeus Master's. We may also recall the Achilles of Aeschylus, who consciously chooses his fate and sticks to his choice in spite of his comrades' opposition. Through the eyes of Heracles, as it were, we see her coming to encourage him, a young creature herself, with big, peaceful features, a cap instead of a helmet, short locks over her brow, small face, and heavy eyelids and lower lip. The Athena of Aegina had been overwhelming, sharp, even hard, in her clarity; the gods of the Zeus Master are inward experiences. What is striking in the lion's head is the realistic observation of the accidental characteristics – the softness of the paw, the limp flopping of the tongue, and other details which have an irresistible effect.

In the succeeding metopes, too, the stress is laid not on the deed itself but on their effect, in the manner of Polygnotos. In order to make the fear inspired by the

FIGS. 23, 24

FIGS. 25, 26

FIG. 26

FIG. 15

FIG. 15

FIG. 12

- FIG. 16 Hydra convincing, the sculptor has devoted most of the metope to the creature. Its tail is turned towards Heracles, so it must have fled from the hero, and it now turns to him with its nine bodies, which grow from one rump. Three bodies already hang down dead, and a lifeless serpent-neck winds round a tree-trunk up on the right. In his right hand Heracles holds the curved knife with which he is cutting off the heads, and in his left the torch with which he is cauterizing the wounds, so that no part of the repulsive creature can grow again.
- FIG. 17 Buschor thinks he recognizes the Wrestling Master again here. In the next few metopes the broad, pictorial style of the Chrysippus Master is more clearly in evidence: mobile surfaces and draperies which look almost transparent, like those of the mature classical period. Heracles walks shyly but boldly up to the goddess, who sits on a rock barefooted like a shepherdess. What an art this is that can dare to portray the divine with such gentle means! The divinity lies more in the attitude than in the attribute of the aegis; we can feel it in the superior yet kindly way in which the goddess turns to the respectful victor, and above all in the countenance, perhaps the finest and noblest of all the many different ones preserved from the temple. Goddess and hero are linked in an almost classically free composition. From the mobile structure of the bodies and their interplay there arises a more inward link than that of the lion metope. The ponderation is already loosening up. In the contrasting of the more active and the more passive parts lies the seed of the later balance of movement. One is tempted to think that the Master only put the finishing touches to this metope after the completion of the west pediment.
- FIG. 18 The mobility of the Heracles of the Bull metope, too, goes further than the west pediment; Buschor attributes it to the Hippodameia Master, and the mobility of the stabbing group is certainly comparable. Heracles has pulled back the bull's head with a rope and in his right hand he swung his club. Daemonic nature and heroic strength are in equipoise, and it is only in this equipoise that formative life becomes a perfect whole. Up to the Bull metope the movement in this series of the labours of Heracles had grown steadily more intense; now it dies away again in the less well-preserved reliefs which show the capture of the Hind and the theft of the Amazon queen's girdle. Of the metopes on the east front, the bringing home of the Erymanthian Boar, the taming of the Horses of Diomedes and the defeat of Geryon are preserved only in fragments. This makes the rest all the more precious. Buschor attributes the Atlas and Augean metopes to the Zeus Master. In the case of the Atlas metope, with its princely heads, we can readily agree with Buschor, especially when we recall the Peirithous group of the west pediment, but the Augean metope is more reminiscent of the stiff expanses and the layered folds of the Oenomaus Master.
- APPX. PL. 12
- FIGS. 19, 20
- FIGS. 21-23
- FIGS. 24, 26
- FIG. 24 According to the old myth, Heracles tricked Atlas by asking him to go on holding the heavens up until he had put a cushion on his head. On the metope, however, the cushion already eases the load and makes the extraordinary idea that a man could bear the heavens more credible. The Zeus Master thus cuts out a detail in the legend that he felt to be unworthy, just as Pindar rejects, in a poem which he wrote about the same time, the tradition that Demeter had bitten into the shoulder of Pelops, whom Tantalus had set before the gods as a dish to be eaten. The Titan

Atlas is given as much dignity as barbarian kings are often given in tragedy; indeed he seems more dignified than Heracles, the son of Zeus. Athena helps Heracles to carry the heavens, which were represented by a specially inserted stone structure. She was marked out as a goddess only by the spear in her right hand. Through this, and through the unification of the figure by the peplos, she produces an impression of greater maturity than the Athena of the Augean metope. The surface tension here is subtler, too, with Heracles and his long legs pushed a little to the left. The decisive axes, the front and profile views, express the necessity of the event. A mature characteristic is the three-figure composition as such, which was to find its classical solution in the three-figure reliefs of the late fifth century. Athena and Atlas are linked by the profiles of their heads, Athena and Heracles by their common burden, and the two men by the symmetrical correspondences of their bodies. The compositional correspondences reflect inner relationships. Again we are reminded of Polygnotos, in whose Delphic pictures there were, according to Pausanias, many multi-figure groups. Noble humanity unfolds in such groups, like leaves fanning out. The event is transformed from something outward into something inward and gives the gestures their aristocratic calm.

FIGS. 52-55

Mature as the design of this metope is, in execution it is more old-fashioned than the Augean metope or the east pediment, as a comparison of the figures in peploi shows at once: the growth in volume, the increasing power of the plastic articulation are unmistakable. The Cerberus metope, too, is one of the oldest pieces of sculpture on the temple, although the admirable maturity and individuality of its composition are no whit inferior to the Atlas metope. The great gesture with which Heracles pulls Cerberus along behind him emphasizes the inner power of the hero more than his outward strength. The whole movement is subordinated to the compelling power of the eye. Cerberus is no longer the snapping dog of archaic art, but a sinister, giant head embodying the horror of the underworld. It is only daemons' heads such as this that classical art shows distorted by passion. The features of the heroes are at peace, because the aim is not to show momentary emotion, but to produce images of their timeless nature, to understand their destiny. The delicate lines and profound ethos of the metope recall the wrestling group, to whose creator Buschor attributes this metope.

FIGS. 26, 14

FIG. 25

The Augean and the Atlas metopes contrast with each other, not only in theme but also in artistic temperament, in the same way as the Oenomaus and Pelops groups of the east pediment and the Theseus and Peirithous groups of the west pediment. In the Augean metope we still meet the powerful, direct axes of the period of the Tyrant-slayers and, on the surface, vividly articulated masses, not the fine modelling of the Zeus Master. In the whole series of metopes the Master wanted to show once again the hero's insuperable strength. Athena and Heracles, who in the early labours had met each other shyly, have now become powerful colleagues. Strong axes and gleaming weapons serve to emphasize the concluding scene, the consecration of the land by the deed performed in Elis.

FIGS. 26, 24

FIGS. 13, 14

FIG. 26

FIG. 4

There is no direct route from the sculptures of the temple of Zeus to mature classical Attic art, for the latter grew up from the tradition of Athens and the painting of Polygnotos. Only the architect of the Parthenon, in the proportions of the building

PLATE P. 120 AND
FOLLOWING PAGES

as a whole, seems to have entered into direct competition with the temple of Zeus; we have already spoken about the effect of the cycle showing the labours of Heracles. But the ethos of the temple of Zeus was never attained again by later Greek art, and in post-antique art only Dante and Giotto are comparable. Only early periods can see characters in such simple, big terms, because they proceed from a conception of God alongside which only the sublime can subsist. With the rich style comes the psychological refinement of Euripides. Multiplicity of experience provokes questions about the divine, now seen in relation to the incalculability of chance. The age of the Olympia pediments and of Parmenides, on the other hand, grasps the idea of Being in all its profundity and refers all doing and willing to this notion of Being. That is why Parmenides has been rediscovered by modern philosophy, and also why the age of the Olympia pediments is more important to us today than any other period of history.

*Temple of Zeus as a
building*

PLATE P. 3

FIG. 27 ABOVE

FIG. 27 MIDDLE

FIG. 28

The house of Zeus influenced contemporaries still more powerfully as a building than through its sculptures; the name of the architect, Libon of Elis, has been preserved, while those of the sculptors have not, and a whole series of temples in Magna Graecia echo the pattern he had established. In particular, the somewhat later temple of Hera at Paestum, preserved almost entire, helps us to visualize what the huge building at Olympia must have been like. Acquaintance with the sculptures is also a help – their giant figures were small in relation to the lofty steps, the swelling columns and the towering entablature; the whole was colossal, yet not titanic – of divine proportions, in fact. The whole sanctuary was altered to accommodate the house of Zeus. The older buildings lay at the foot of the hill of Kronos. The stadium was now moved a distance of half its length to the east; it had to make way for the grove of Zeus. The foundations of the temple were sunk, at a fitting distance from the older buildings, only three feet down into the existing ground, but they were raised another nine feet and banked up all round, so that the steps only began above a low hill and the whole formed something of a counterpoise to the hill of Kronos. The height of the base still surprises the visitor today, although above the steps only the orthostates and a few drums of the columns still stand upright. It is typical of Greek architecture that it interprets and condenses the plastic character of the landscape, as we have already seen in the case of the Parthenon. Even today the ruins of the temple of Zeus lend the rich, pleasant landscape a manly seriousness. The divine form, on its raised platform, seems like a marvel; not a supernatural marvel, but the deepest essence of creation.

The more we examine the remains the more we are struck by them: the careful cutting and fitting of the square stones, the grandiose nature of the plan, which can be clearly made out from the base, and the marvellous drums, capitals, and blocks from architrave, triglyphs and cornices lying about where they have fallen. The geometrical ground-plan of the building is quite clearly outlined; one feels the challenge to find out how the architect solved the problem of getting the rectangle of the temple chamber (the cella) and that of the peristyle into the right relationship with each other. In the archaic period the practice had been to start the rectangle of the cella and then to add the peristyle or colonnade with old-fashioned artistic proportions. It was accepted that the intervals between the columns on the ends

FIG. 27 ABOVE

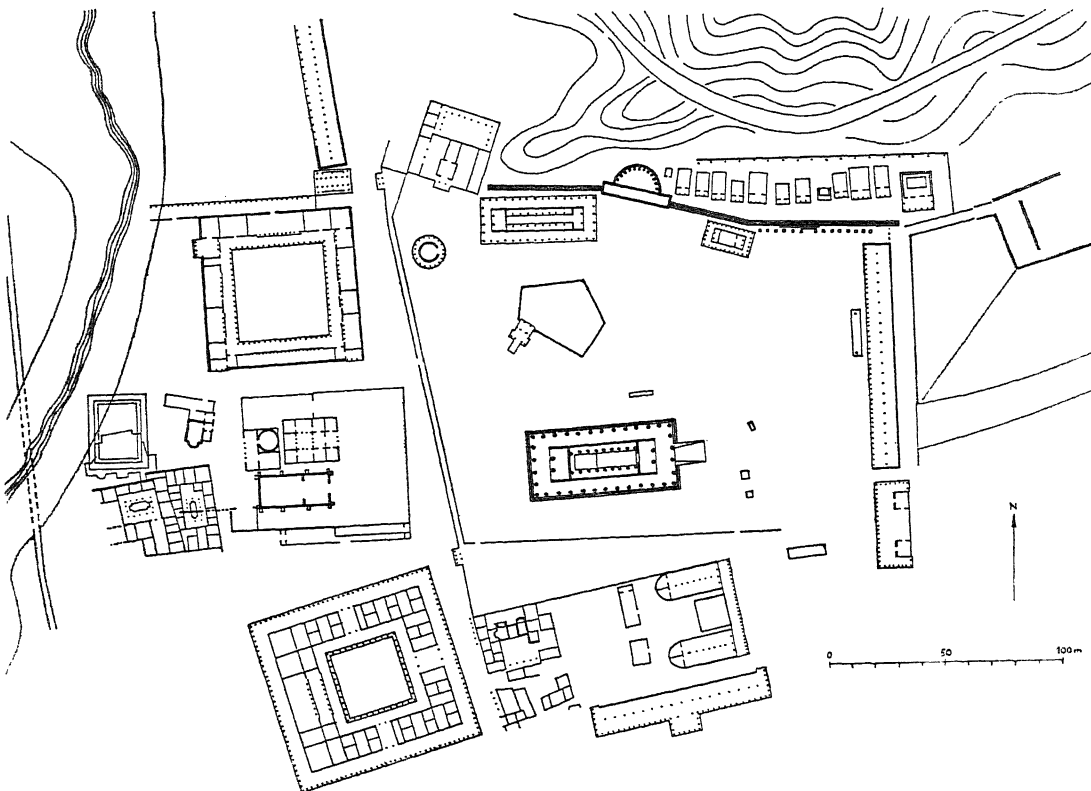
FIG. 27 MIDDLE

and sides had then to be unequal. Now the intervals between the columns are all made the same width (except for the contraction at the corners) and this determines the rectangle of base and cella, which thereby enter into a firm relationship with each other.

Instead of the older long, narrow kind of building we find here the canonical proportion of 1 : 2, or 6 columns to 13 - 1 to 3 for the cella -, so that one intercolumnation forms the distance of the side from the cella and one and a half intercolumnations that of the front and back from the cella. The sides of the cella are thus aligned precisely with the axis of the second pillar of the façade on each side, while the front and back are aligned with the centre of the second intercolumnation of the flanks. The height of each column is exactly equal to two intercolumnations and the height of the entablature is in the proportion of 4 : 5 to the intercolumnation, so that the total height is not quite equal to three intercolumnations (14 : 5). The triglyph is in the proportion of 2 : 3 to the metope; together they form half an intercolumnation. The whole design is reduced to one

FIG. 28

FIG. 27 - Plan of the sanctuary at Olympia in the 2nd century A.D. Above, the older buildings; in the middle, the temple of Zeus; to the right, the stadium. Cf. p. 92.



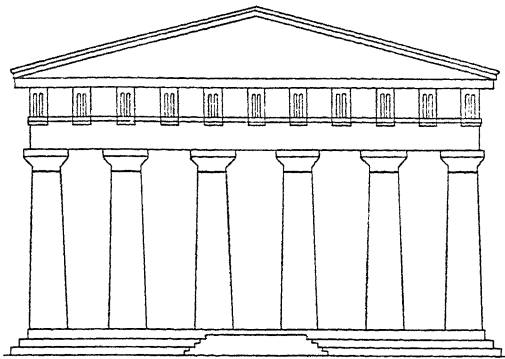


FIG. 28 - *Facade of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (intercolumniation: from column axis to column axis). About 480 B.C. Cf. p. 93.*

denominator, the intercolumniation, and thus achieves a certain degree of classical unity. This becomes particularly clear to the visitor when he realizes that the slabs forming the stylobate are half an intercolumniation in width and that every column stands in the middle of one of these slabs. These proportions extend even to the tiles on the roof. Yet there is something severe about the temple as a whole; it does not yet possess the supple quality of classical art, because in essence the Doric temple was an archaic creation, built up by addition out of independent blocks, steps, columns and beams; the builder of the Parthenon was the first to achieve the apparently impossible by moulding these disparate elements into an organic unity.

Sicyon Although Sicyon lies not far from Corinth in the same fertile coastal region, on the peaceful shipping route through the Gulf of Corinth, its history and art have a character of their own which is different from that of Corinth. The city was famous for its bronze- and leatherwork. Sicyonian shoes united Dorian solidity with Ionian elegance. The inventor of large-scale painting is supposed to have been Telephanes of Sicyon. Kanachos, one of the first great sculptors in bronze about 500, was noted for his cult statues: the bronze one of Apollo at Didyma near Miletus, the chryselephantine statue of Aphrodite at Sicyon, the cedar-wood Apollo at Thebes and a group of three Muses. Tradition ascribed to his brother Aristokles a school of artists that lasted for six generations. Fourth-century Sicyonian painting was based on a renewal of draughtsmanship; it led in Pausias and Apelles to the most highly celebrated triumphs of painting, and this in the time of the Sicyonian Lysippos, whose bronze statues later aroused the greatest admiration of all. We know of no artists as famous as they from Corinth. Corinth was a more important centre of trade but its territory was smaller. As a country town and in mythology Sicyon is linked with Argos rather than with Corinth. The characteristics of the Sicyonian style were deduced by Langlotz from copies of Kanachos' statue of Apollo, and his suppositions have been fully confirmed not only by the bronze statuettes subsequently found in Sicyon but also by proof that the archaic metopes of the Sicyonian treasury at Delphi are of Sicyonian limestone. We can therefore also accept his attribution to Sicyon of two original

PLATES PP. 195, 197

bronze statues of gods, the Poseidon of Kreusis in Athens and the Piombino Apollo in the Louvre, and Pfeiff's ascription to the same source of the most sublime of the early classical heads of Apollo. There is a huge copy of this in the British Museum. Thus the school of Sicyon possesses special glory.

APPX. PL. 19

When Corinth was destroyed by the Romans in 146 B.C. the conquerors carried off innumerable treasures to Italy, and new ones were found when the city was rebuilt by Caesar as a colony. The builders came across old graves with bronze contents, which, under the name of 'Necrocorinthia', were much esteemed and sold at high prices. The prosperous Roman city was built round the temple of Apollo, which is still partly standing, the sole monumental witness to the city's greatness in archaic times. For the rest, the new colony covered over and destroyed the Greek ruins. The character of the works which can be ascribed to Corinth corresponds to the blooming, Aphrodisiac beauty of the landscape as described by Hölderlin at the beginning of his *Hyperion*. Corinth was the city of Aphrodite; it faced the sea which the goddess ruled. Its colonies, with Corfu and Syracuse pre-eminent among them, fringed the western seas. The gay, busy life of the prosperous city turned men's thoughts away from the serious side of life which gives Argive and Sicyonian art its special character. Corinth was also open to foreign influences. Thus statuettes of maidens from Corinth usually wear the Ionian chiton, not the peplos familiar to us from Argos and Sicyon.

Corinth

Fortunately important finds of Corinthian early classical art have been made outside the city itself. The most important of these are the large-scale terracotta groups which came to light during the new excavations at Olympia. In addition there are terracottas from Corinth itself, from the sanctuary of Hera at Perachora near Corinth and from other sanctuaries, especially Tiryns. More precious are the small bronzes, particularly from Olympia, Dodora and Perachora, which in conjunction with those found in Corinth itself enable us to trace a clear stylistic tradition. Among the figures of youths which served as pan-handles one Corinthian group in particular deserves to be mentioned. The terracotta groups from Olympia are worthy of admiration for their technique alone. Since the early archaic period the Corinthians had been masters of the difficult art of modelling and firing big clay figures; their work was imitated particularly in Ionia and Etruria. A typically Corinthian characteristic is the finely puddled clay of the surface. The ceramic colours – dull black for the hair, cherry red for the inside of the cloak – stand out in contrast to the mirror-smooth, ivory-like skin. There are traces of red as well as black on the folds; and a light brown colour was also used.

PLATE P. 96

The group consisting of Zeus and Ganymede is an Attic idea. Only since the turn of the century and only in Athens had artists dared to depict gods pursuing and abducting their beloved. That the Zeus in this group holds a knobbly stick indicates some connection with pictures in which Zeus, in the guise of an Athenian citizen, pursues Ganymede along one of the streets of the city. The gods were no longer conceived simply as Being but as motive forces, and in their great passions people saw the unity of all living things, both men and gods. The master who made this particular group is the first to put Ganymede in Zeus's arm. Zeus thus appears as the victor rejoicing in his new possession, as Ganymede rejoices in his cock. The

PLATE P. 96



realistic scene is made to yield a gleam of inner happiness; the outward event reflects the inner reality of fate, and outward mastery inner majesty. The firm intersecting axes emphasize necessity, Being instead of movement, which had been discovered at the beginning of the century. In firmness of structure the group goes even further than the Tyrant-slayers. Further evidence of its somewhat later date is provided by the softer folds of the drapery, the freer mobility, even if the powerful organic relationship of the figures on the temple of Zeus is not yet attained. The colours are more delicately graduated than in older terracotta groups. The pictorial character of the composition is linked with the continuous expanses of colour, in which the archaic additive approach is completely transcended. Probably we have here traces of Polygnotan influence at Olympia even before the stage of the temple of Zeus.

FIG. 4

PLATE P. 81

In the archaic period Sparta had been a rich and flourishing town, whose art was admired far and wide. It even attracted artists from Ionia. Through the new excavations at Olympia our picture of Spartan artistic life at this period has grown more and more varied. But in the fifth century, after the Persian Wars, Sparta had difficulty in maintaining its position as the leading power in Greece. All its energies had to be concentrated on political activities and were lost to artistic creation. There is nothing that can be compared with the classical buildings of Athens. Thus Thucydides could foresee that one day everyone would be able to see from the ruins of Athens how great the classical city had been, while the ruins of Sparta would lead people to suppose that it had been less important than it actually was. We know the names of numerous artists of archaic Sparta, but there is no comparable name in the classical period. Only the tripods which Gitiades made in collaboration with Kalon of Aegina for the sanctuary of Apollo at Amyklai could have been early fifth-century work.

Sparta

The archaic genres – bronze statuettes, grave reliefs and terracottas – are now fairly sparsely represented. On the other hand, a marble statue of the first rank has been preserved. It was found in 1925 on the acropolis of Sparta, and although the material is Parian marble it seems to be the work of a native artist. The statue is not weathered and therefore can have stood in the open only for a short time; traces of axe blows on the back suggest that the work was destroyed deliberately. This warrior was lunging to attack. The shield-arm, held out defensively in front, pulls the left shoulder forward. The left chest muscle swells out obliquely to the shoulder and the left shoulder-blade is showing. The broad slanting back muscle forms a sharp ridge to the shoulder and the left-hand part of the back broadens out powerfully towards the top. The right chest muscle is led steeply behind to the shoulder, so the right arm must have been swung back and upward to deliver the blow. The head is completely covered by the Corinthian helmet, whose cheek-pieces are shaped like rams' heads, symbols of youthful strength. All one can see of the face is the eyes, wide open with an expression of wild strength and determination, the

APPX. PL. 7

PLATE 23 – Zeus abducts Ganymede. Terracotta group. About 470 B.C. *Olympia*. Height 42 in. Cf. p. 95.

APPX. PL. 5

FIG. 4

Paros

straight ridge of the strong nose and the tightly pressed lips. From the back of the helmet a line of tight curls creeps out. What is significant about the style of the work as a whole is that all the masses are swallowed up, as it were, by the expressive bearers of strength. There is no flesh to be seen, only muscles; yet the brittle lines of Sicyonian art are missing. Spartan, too, is the clean-shaven upper lip. The muscles are represented in a more linear fashion than in the champion on the east pediment at Aegina, but this statue is nevertheless almost certainly somewhat later because its volume is greater. In the simplification of the forms there is already something of the severe style. Yet the statue is more likely to date from before 480 than after; there is still a long way to go to the Tyrant-slayers. This means that it cannot represent Leonidas or Pausanias, the heroes of Thermopylae and Plataea respectively. None the less, it gives us some idea how a Spartan hero at the time of the Persian Wars was visualized – more akin in his controlled strength to Athena than to Ares, and as incomparable in this as the Athenians of the same period were in the depth of their tragic awareness.

The island of Paros, noted for its marble and its art, is one of the noblest in the Cyclades. Its mountains are harmonious in outline, not so rugged as those of Naxos but higher than those of neighbouring Siphnos and Syros. Up to the Middle Ages there was probably also some forest; the fertile plains are small. It is the more surprising that of all the flourishing schools of art of archaic Ionia only the Parian one lasted into the classical period and indeed made its influence felt far and wide, even on the mainland and in Crete. The archaic flower of Ionian Asia Minor and the offshore islands of Chios and Samos was ripped off in the struggles with the Persians, especially through the failure of the Ionian revolt in 494; even Naxos, once the most important of the Cyclades from an artistic point of view, fell a victim to the Persian Wars. Thereafter Athens, as the centre of the Attic maritime confederacy, attracted most artistic forces to herself.

The importance of Paros is evident from the works found there, and from those related to them, and also from the history of the artists themselves. We know of few fifth-century artists from other islands. From Thasos came the painter Polygnotos, from Samos Agatharchos, famous for his scene-painting for the theatre, and from Chios the gem-cutter Dexamenos and the sculptor Sostratos; but it is significant that the last-named belonged to the school of Sicyon. A certain Ptolichos of Corcyra is mentioned as belonging to the school of Kritios at Athens, so is Amphion of Cnossos. Kresilas of Cydonia in Crete also worked in Athens. Alongside these isolated masters from other islands we can put at least ten from Paros who either worked or at any rate were born in the fifth century. Among the pupils of Pheidias, Agorakritos certainly and Kolotes possibly came from Paros; so did Aristandros, father of the great Skopas, and Thrasymedes, the creator of the gold and ivory statue of Asclepius at Epidaurus. Although we have no information about a Parian school it is reasonable to conclude from the origin of such a large number of important artists that there in fact was one. In the Athenian confederacy after 480 Paros was able to make particularly big contributions because it was the most successful and prosperous of the Cyclades. There is evidence that there was a new Parian school even in Roman times.

Characteristic of Paros are slender tombstones of young men standing upright and buried with animals or accompanied by young servants. A Girl with Doves found on Paros is now in New York, and similar *stelai* on the Capitol in Rome and in Berlin are akin to it. Parian artists were responsible for such famous works as the Ludovisi Throne and the Niobids, the better known of which is likewise in the Terme Museum in Rome. Of the *stelai* showing young men, the one in the Vatican is particularly well preserved; its missing lower part was recently discovered. A young servant looks up at his master and hands him an oil flask. Ionic is the way in which the childish body is contrasted with the athletic one, the shallow arms are brought across the body, and the height of the slender figure is combined with gentle, expressive modelling and the musical play of framing curves. The raised left hand, together with the outline of head and arms, encloses a tranquil sphere, in whose animation the imperishability of perfect form is won from the perishable.

The originals of the classical statues of victors were usually made of bronze and are therefore almost all lost, although we know some of them from Roman copies. A few marble torsos of athletes have been found on Delos and Thasos, because sculptors there were used to working in marble and liked the native material.

A torso in Cyrene is Parian, and these torsos are also recalled by the most splendid athlete's body we possess, the one found at Miletus, which inspired Rilke's sonnet on the archaic torso of Apollo. The physical ideal is broader, fuller, and the understanding of the musculature is superior to that of the other torsos mentioned. Its sculptor advanced the left leg, as in the archaic period; thus he did not yet follow the loosening of the right side of the body, in which Kritios had led the way. The tension of the shoulder-blade shows that the right forearm was bent forward; it probably held a spear, like Polykleitos' Doryphoros. This statue too, like the Doryphoros, may have been an Achilles, a votive offering by the victorious Greeks after the battle with the Persians at Cape Mycale in 479 B.C. At that time Ionia was in ruins. Moreover, the work cannot be Milesian for another reason: it is strongly reminiscent of the Dorian physical ideal. But the Dorian model, as in the Delian torsos, is reflected more in the splendour of the work than in the structure; and the physical fullness suggests that a Parian master consciously adapted himself to East Greek lushness. In its lofty Being this work corresponds more than any other Ionian figure to the spirit of Parmenides, as 'the expression of eternal measure resting in itself'.

Thasos, the rich colony of Paros, resembles the latter in the harmony of its mountains, but its northern part is full of streams and covered with forest. There was no unified school of sculptors as there was in Paros. The numerous works that have been preserved reflect Parian and also Ionian influence. The only artist we know by name is the painter Polygnotos, who is also described as a bronze-caster. However, for the great bronze Heracles which they dedicated at Olympia the Thasians were unable to secure the services of any native master, and they commissioned Onatas of Aegina. An athlete's torso, similar in kind to the one from Cyrene but of higher quality, may be the work of a Parian master. The delicate Parian modelling is found again in the fine terracottas recently discovered in

PLATE P. 101

APPX. PL. 4

PLATE P. 102

APPX. PL. 3

Thasos

APPX. PL. 4

APPX. PL. 17

great numbers in the sanctuary of Athena. But what the visitor finds most fascinating are the reliefs on the gates of the well-preserved city walls, especially the one of Silenus entering the city with raised kantharos. Its sculptor has moved further from the archaic than those of the other reliefs; he unites Ionic fullness with a monumental weight, as if he had worked at Olympia.

Melos

The inhabitants of Melos spoke a Dorian dialect and the city was regarded as a Spartan foundation. But the Dorian element is clearly evident only in Geometric pottery, which recalls Argive work of the same period; from the archaic period onwards Melos fell artistically more and more under the influence of Paros; and in the fifth century also under that of Athens. It did not join the Athenian confederacy, but seems, like Paros, to have enjoyed a happy and prosperous existence until in the Peloponnesian War, as an ally of Sparta, it was suddenly attacked by the Athenians in 426 and starved into submission.

APPX. PL. 11

A curiously austere transformation of Parian art occurs in the clay reliefs which, like the Triton illustrated, were produced, to judge from the place where numerous examples were found, in workshops on Melos from about 470 to 430. They were hung up as votive offerings in tombs and domestic shrines. Their themes reflect from the start – and increasingly – the influence of large-scale painting at Athens after Polygnotos. These great models are skilfully adapted on the reliefs, independently of the Attic vase-painting tradition. Thus these reliefs are an important subsidiary source of information about classical painting. They are provincial, but not backward or crude. Perhaps they are best described as peculiar modifications of the Attic models.

Eastern Ionia

Before the revolt against the Persians in 494 eastern Ionia was in full bloom and we should really expect to find there one day treasures like those found among the spoils of the Persian Wars on the Acropolis of Athens – remains of the votive offerings destroyed by the Persians in their conquest of western Asia Minor. One exquisite piece of sculpture is the relief of a horseman from Chios, which may well date from just before the revolt. After its liberation by the Athenians in 479 the savaged land needed masters who came from the mother-country, like the sculptor of the Parian statue from Miletus in the Louvre. Some idea of the appearance of the Apollo Klarios of Colophon is given by terracottas; he stood in the temple dressed as a cithara-player. The head can be visualized from the splendid bronze original once at Chatsworth and now in the British Museum: It comes from Cyprus and is the only big bronze we have from the early classical period apart from the Charioteer and the God from the Sea; it is also the only original portrait of Apollo from this period except for the one at Olympia.

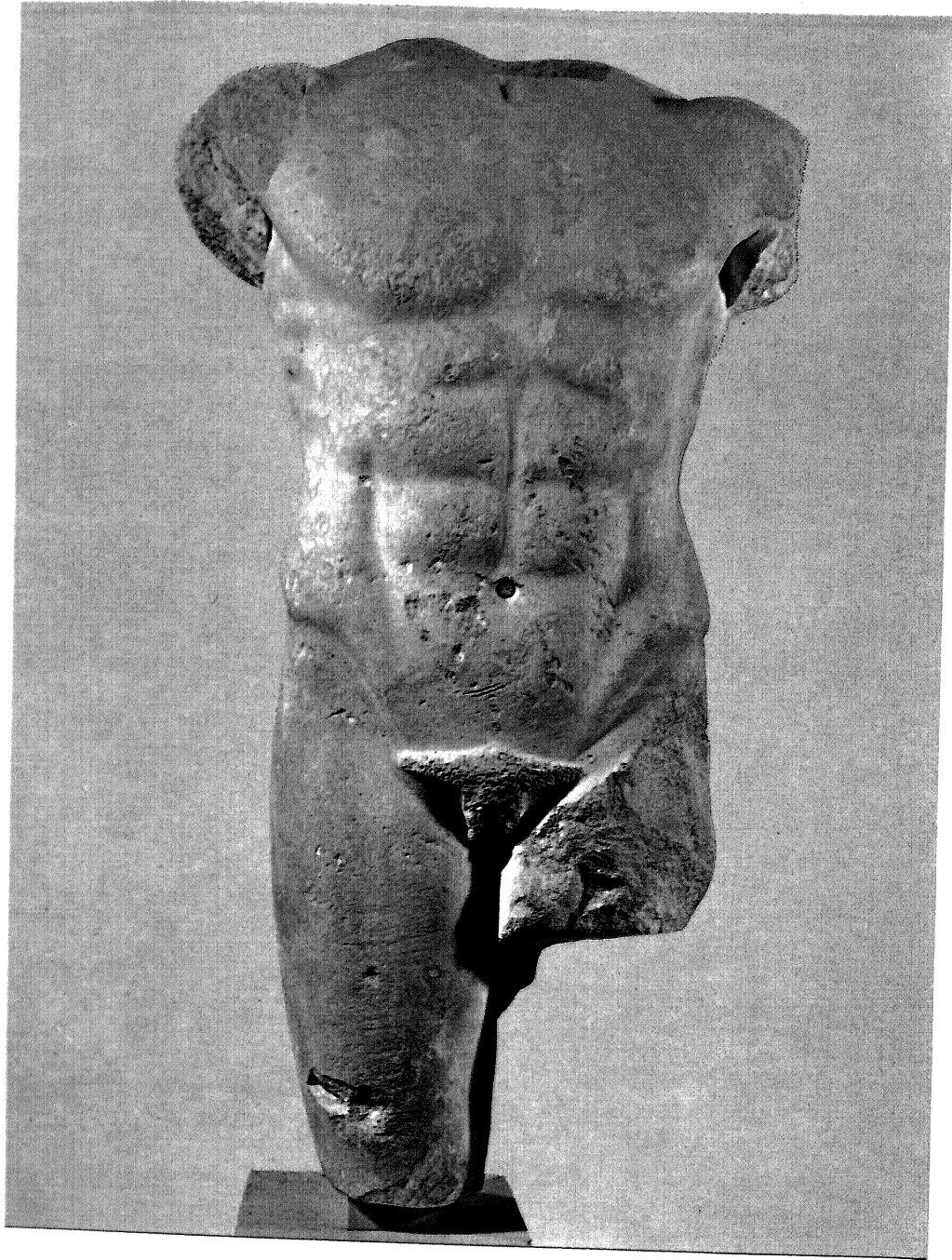
The reconstruction of Miletus according to a regular plan gave fame to the architect Hippodamos, to whom the planning of the Peiraieus and of the cities of Thurii and Rhodes was also ascribed. There had already been sites with streets intersecting at right angles and equally-sized blocks of houses in the archaic colonial cities of Ionia and Magna Graecia. The special art of Hippodamos must have lain in the organic, harmonious combination of sanctuaries, gymnasia, stadia, theatres and squares, and in their skilful adaptation to the landscape and to climatic conditions. At Miletus this planning lasted into Roman times and at Priene a

similar adaptation to a much more difficult landscape can still be appreciated today from the ruins.

The first Ionic building of the classical period known to us is the temple of Athena at Miletus. It stood on a podium with six columns at the front and only then down each side. The capitals seem to have had the shape first attested round 480 in the columns, erected at that time, of the great temple of Hera in Samos. Round the upper end of the shaft of the column wound a decorative sculptured band of entwining tendrils, from which palmettes and lotus-leaves sprang, varying continually from column to column. In the volute, too, a new warm, full life makes itself felt in place of the archaic tranquillity; even the narrow sides of the volute are covered with delicate tendrils and leaves. This bold remodelling, which corresponded to the classical spirit, not only spread from Samos to Miletus but also made itself felt in southern Italy, which soon (about 450) received its only pure Ionic temple, that of Locri, considerable parts of which have been preserved. In the museum at Reggio (Calabria) the restored volute capital and the capital of the antae can still be admired, together with the somewhat later Dioscuri figures either from the akroterion or the pediment of the temple. More important for the future



PLATE 24 - Stele of an athlete. About 455 B.C. Vatican. Height 6 ft. 8 in. Cf. p. 99.



than the temple of Locri was the reshaping of the Samian-Milesian classical capital in the Erechtheum on the Athenian Acropolis.

The radiation of East Greek art does more to testify to its importance than do the finds from East Greek centres. Inscriptions record that Ionians helped to build the palaces of the Persian kings at Persepolis, and this is proved by the style of the architecture and of the reliefs, and also by drawings scratched by Ionian artists on the foot of a statue of Darius from Persepolis. Carried by exiled and abducted Ionians, art, adapted to oriental taste and tradition, blossomed all over the Persian realm, so that in spite of its outward failure the Ionian revolt was really a success in the domain of the spirit and showed the way for Alexander's expedition. From these effects we can draw inferences about the art that now arose anew in the great Ionian sanctuaries – at Miletus, and at the sanctuary of Apollo at Didyma. Even in the archaic period southern Asia Minor, Lydia and even Phrygia had become provinces of Greek art. Particularly rich finds have come to light at Xanthos in Lycia; they date from the first half of the fifth century and include the famous Harpy monument in London, a tombstone of an indigenous kind with marble reliefs on all four sides: the relatives of the dead, now heroes, approach them with gifts (cf. also p. 178 ff).

Of the Aeolian Greeks, only the Lesbians took part in the Ionian revolt; elsewhere in Aeolia archaic culture was able to change peacefully into classical culture, apart from purely local disturbances. It is true that in the field of art Aeolia was always provincial. Our clearest notions of the artistic situation there have been gained at Larisa on the River Hermos, where a series of no less than five palaces, dating from the sixth to the fourth century, could be observed. The remains of the most perfect of these palaces, dating from the early fifth century, included one of the best preserved Greek fortress walls; a pair of noble Ionic capitals and some fine roof terracottas seem to come from the same palace. An enclave in Aeolian territory was formed by the illustrious Ionic city of Phocaea, the mother-city of Marseilles and of Emporion, near Barcelona. One Telephanes of Phocaea is placed by Pliny alongside the greatest artists. He is supposed to have worked for Darius I and Xerxes, and therefore belongs to our period.

We know the names of several sculptors from Boeotia, but it is impossible to form a really clear idea of any of them. All we can surmise about Kalamis is that he came from Boeotia. The statues found in Boeotia show that it is useless to look for an artistic centre here, though the region is rich in grave-goods, like Rhodes. To judge by Kalamis, it looks as if important Boeotian sculptors joined the leading schools of the neighbouring regions. In the same way the poet Pindar swiftly outgrew his native land and had more links with Aegina, Athens, Corinth, Argos, Thessaly and the princes of Magna Graecia than with Boeotia. In his work the archaic Greek aristocratic order becomes a conscious, timeless value that shines all the more brightly because the aristocratic régimes in Boeotia, Aegina and other places were seriously threatened at that time.

PLATE P. 173

Boeotia and Kalamis

APPX. PL. 21, 22;

FIG. 30

PLATE 25 – Colossal torso of Parian marble. After 479 B.C. *Paris, Louvre. Height 4 ft. 3³/₄ in. Cf. p. 99.*

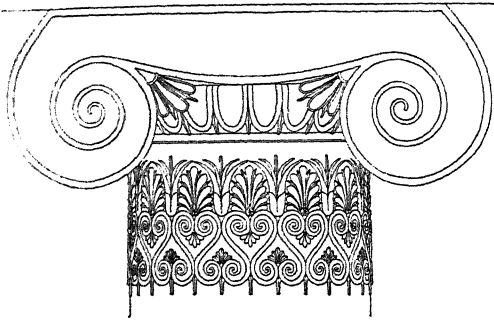


FIG. 29 – Capital of the temple of Hera, Samos. About 480 B.C. Cf. p. 101.

Kalamis ranks with Kritios, Onatas, Hageladas and Kanachos as one of the great masters of the early classical period. In Thebes he created the statue of Zeus Ammon; Tanagra was indebted to him for the cult images of Hermes with the ram on his shoulder and of the young Dionysus. Two of his works at Athens remained famous: the Apollo Alexikakos, the warder-off of evil, in front of the temple of Apollo Patroos, and the so-called Sosandra at the entrance to the Acropolis, which was probably identical with the Aphrodite dedicated by Kallias. Lucian praises her chaste veiling and dignified, reserved smile. There were other works by Kalamis in Sicily (an Asclepius made of gold and ivory with pine-cone and sceptre), Delphi, Apollonia on the Pontus, and above all in Olympia, where his horses were particularly celebrated. He worked mainly in bronze, but also in gold and ivory and in marble. The Apollo of Apollonia was 30 ells – nearly 44 feet – high; it is supposed to have cost 500 talents, or in other words about £ 125,000.

As always, the works most likely to be represented among the Roman copies are his Attic ones. Among the early classical statues of Apollo there is one poised stylistically between Attic and Peloponnesian art in a way that suggests the art of Kalamis according to the Boeotian commissions which tradition says were entrusted to him: the best reproduction of it was found in the theatre of Dionysus at Athens, together with an omphalos, whence the statue is known as the Omphalos Apollo. To judge from the number of reproductions, this work must have been famous, but its style indicates that it cannot be the work of any famous contemporary such as Onatas or Kritios. It is closely akin to the most splendid piece of Greek bronze-casting that we possess, the Poseidon of Cape Artemisium. With his right hand Poseidon was hurling the trident, which appears as an attribute in a Roman copy of the head and thus confirms the interpretation. The force of the throw no longer comes from the run-up, as it does in the older thunderbolt-wielders, but from the tranquil strength of the body. The muscles are no longer taut like a bow-string but form an interacting structure that carries the movement and gives the moving whole a fixed centre. In older moving figures the outlines had been simpler and the inner articulation shallower; now the differentiated archings share the outline. Thus a full three-dimensional plasticity and a new close feeling of presence is achieved. But it is only the head that makes it quite

APPX. PL. 22

APPX. PL. 21

FIG. 8

certain that it is the sea-god who seems to emerge before our eyes from the waves. His stormy nature is echoed in the huge thunderbolt and the fullness of the beard, the unruly locks of hair over the brow and the angry, deeply shadowed eyes. Zeus's countenance is broader, more imperious, more solemnly superior; Poseidon is the incarnation of the incomprehensible aspects of violent nature, that only destroys the more terribly when man seeks to control it with clever calculation. But Poseidon, the saviour of Cape Artemisium, is yet more: there is something of Zeus in him, as though we could have confidence that behind tempest and raging fire a supreme shaping power holds sway.

Kalamis' boldest conception is the supposed Aphrodite, whose countenance has a sisterly resemblance to that of the Omphalos Apollo. Greek art never again produced such a sublime portrait of the goddess, not even in the east pediment of the Parthenon or Alkamenes' Aphrodite in the Gardens; on the other hand this is just the goddess that Aeschylus and Sophocles evoke. Up to the time of Kalamis statues of Aphrodite symbolized the supra-sexual, supra-individual power of love; later on artists sought to portray its ravishing, captivating force.

Round the works of Kalamis reigns a deep calm. They are not so powerful as those of Kritios or the Olympia Master, nor of such blooming, radiant beauty as those of Pheidias, which recall the Olympian splendour of Homer. Nor is Kalamis so taut and severe as Onatas. The painter Polygnotos was richer in invention, infinite in poetic imagination, powerful in his battles, ominous and full of foreboding in his peaceful scenes, and in all this he was the right teacher for Pheidias. But Kalamis, too, has something in common with Polygnotos and of all contemporary sculptors perhaps stands nearest to him in the inwardness and individuality of his conceptions. If we take the literary evidence into account as well, Kalamis begins to look exceptionally versatile. He is said to have worked on every scale, from the smallest to the biggest, in silver, bronze, marble, gold and ivory; he portrayed gods and men at every stage of life, and his animals aroused special admiration, like those of his contemporary Onatas, with whom he worked, but whom he completely overshadowed in the memory of later generations. His influence is clearest in the Sphinx, that mysterious work by an unknown hand in the museum at Aegina.

The influence of the centres with which we have become acquainted is apparent in tomb reliefs in western and northern Greece, especially in Thessaly, but also in Anatolia, Syria, Lybia and Spain. The squatting dog from the Macedonian royal city of Pella, a work whose energetic realism calls to mind the great animal portraits of Kalamis, was a gravestone. At Neapolis (Kavalla) and Therme, the predecessor of Salonika, the remains of important Ionic temples have been found. If we turn from the northern to the southern edge of the Greek world, we find in Libya the rich and powerful colony of Cyrene. It was founded in 630 by settlers from Thera, but it also had ties with Sparta. It always remained a monarchy. As on the Dorian islands, especially Rhodes and Melos, Ionian influence was strong and the native Dorian elements did no more than modify it. Nevertheless, in the sixth century two huge Doric temples were erected there. In spite of its wealth Cyrene, like Rhodes and northern Greece, did not produce a school of art that exerted any

FIG. 30

PLATE P. 125

APPX. PL. 39

APPX. PL. 3

PLATES PP.

120, 125, 128

Border regions

Cyrene

APPX. PL. 4

influence of its own. Indigenous works have an eclectic character. Sculpture is more powerful than in northern Greece, and not so shallow and pictorial as it was there. The most distinctive of the numerous originals and heads found in Cyrene are a woman's head crowned with a diadem and a marble torso which is even more directly akin to the work of the Parian school than the one from Miletus.

The rich colonies in southern Italy and Sicily took an immediate part in the bold expansion of Hellenism at the beginning of the classical period. Just as Pindar and Aeschylus went to Sicily and wrote for its princely rulers, so other poets and artists were drawn to the great tasks which were undertaken there. Particularly impressive are the temples erected at Paestum, Syracuse and Selinus on the model of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. In Greece itself and the Aegean islands only one big early classical temple is known to us, apart from those at Athens and Olympia. This is the temple on Delos which was designed as an Ionic temple and then later actually built as a Doric one (Fig. 66). But at Acragas and Selinus whole series of huge buildings arose, among them one of the biggest temples anywhere, the Olympieum of Acragas, which measured 369 feet by 183 feet. We know that the bronze-caster Pythagoras, who describes himself in his signatures as a Samian, did most of his work for Magna Graecia, for Locri, Croton, Tarentum, Messina and Syracuse. Apparently he emigrated to Rhegium in 494, but he also worked for the sanctuaries of Greece itself, for Olympia and Delphi. We are told that there were other works by Pythagoras in Cyrene, Thebes and Arcadia. Since nothing that can be certainly attributed to him has been handed down to us, all we can do here is to point to the traces of his influence in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (see above, p. 87) and on the commemorative coins of Aetna and Naxos, which likewise combine Ionic and Doric elements.

The most important Dorian centres were Tarentum, Syracuse, Gela and Acragas; the most important Ionian foundation was Naxos on the slopes of Aetna, famous for its coins and artistic influence. Powerful Selinus, Dorian in origin, was strongly influenced in the early classical period by Athens and Ionia. The Achaean colonies between Locri and Tarentum were not so called because they were founded from Achaëa, but because their mixed populations adopted the name by which the Greeks were known in heroic times, Achaeans.

After Croton had destroyed Sybaris in 506 Tarentum became the most powerful city in Magna Graecia. In this Spartan colony the Dorian mode of life was maintained in a purer form than in the rest of Magna Graecia. The wealth of the city is proved by the wonderful abundance of coins, terracottas, large-scale sculpture and jewellery which has been discovered on the site. Nevertheless, the city was not an artistic centre in the sense that Argos, Sparta and Athens were. Thus the enthroned goddess from Tarentum now in Berlin is comparable to the portraits of Athena from the pediments of Aegina in its combination of Ionian disposition and dress with Dorian austerity, but the marble is cautiously worked, as if for all his care the

Magna Graecia

PLATE P. 29 ABOVE
APPX. PL. 9, 10

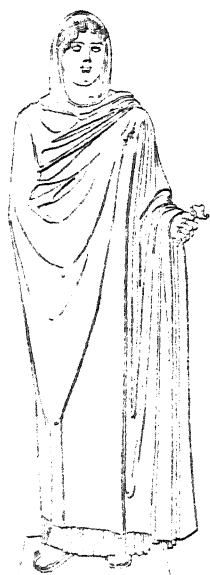


FIG. 30 - *Aphrodite by Kalamis (?)*. Reconstruction. After 460 B.C. Height 6 ft. 5 in. Cf. p. 105.

sculptor had no big sculptural tradition behind him and wished to sacrifice as little as possible of the block.

The head in Adolphseck, too, probably represents Persephone; to judge by its similarity to other heads found at Tarentum it was probably carved there. Persephone was the object of particular veneration in Magna Graecia; the Greeks there were concerned to form clear notions of the other world, more so than in the mother country, where people were more aware of the boundaries of knowledge and therefore allowed their imaginations freer play (cf. p. 114). This frighteningly harsh and powerful head, double the size of life, was probably let into a statue made of other material. This was often done in Magna Graecia because marble was so precious there. A broad band binds the hair; the holes in front of the centre parting were intended for blossoms, probably of gold. Persephone is suggested by the combination of the sombre features with the splendour with which the goddess ruled in the underworld. The head is distinguished from the Berlin goddess, itself some ten years older, by a deeper tragic conception, which in the fate of Demeter's daughter, abducted by Hades, tries to fathom the whole secret of death; hence the strong arching of the youthful forms, the heavy eyelids, the widely differentiated lines of the lips, and the projection of nose and chin, which must have been full and austere.

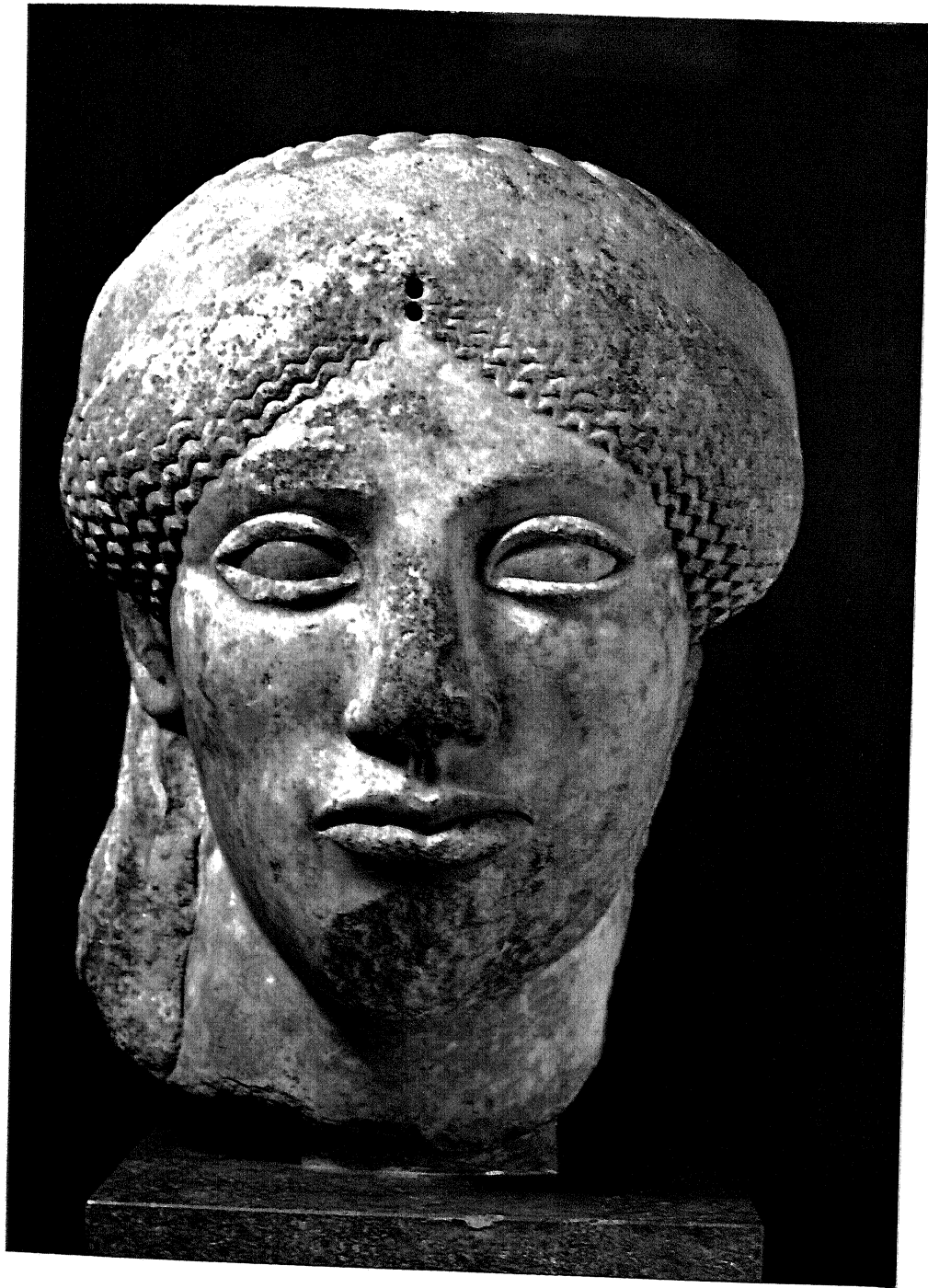
PLATE P. 108

When one looks southward across Taormina to Aetna a tongue of land cuts off the wide-curving bay: here in 735 B.C. Ionians from Naxos and Chalcis founded a new Naxos, which after only four years was able to send out settlers to found the daughter colonies of Catania and Leontini. About 690 Chalcidians founded Zankle and Rhegium on each side of the Strait of Messina, and in 648 Himera on the north coast of Sicily. Locri, founded in 673 by Locrians, preserved its Ionian character through the influence of this Chalcidian colonization, and it continued to preserve it even after the Persian Wars, when most of the Ionian cities of Sicily began to fall more and more under the influence of Syracuse.

We know Locri better than any other Ionian site in Magna Graecia, for during the excavation of the sanctuary of Demeter a large number of early classical clay reliefs were found, votive tablets in a uniformly Ionic style; we also possess bronze utensils from Locri and terracottas from the neighbouring districts, especially from Locri's ally, Medma; and even a marble group of the Dioscuri and their horses, probably from the akroterion of the temple of Demeter. In no other work from Magna Graecia has the model of the Parthenon pediment been modified with such skill to suit an individual style. This style is characterized by a free relationship to space that lets the horses hover on the supporting Tritons and the dismounting riders do likewise by the side of their horses, like creatures of a supernatural realm coming to lend help to men.

APPX. PL. 20

Somewhat more severe, yet very similar, is the Eros of the Boston Throne, which accordingly may well be a Locrian work. Recently a Locrian relief was published showing an old woman whose realistic features are so reminiscent of the old woman of the Throne that the latter's genuineness seems thus to be guaranteed. Its great difference from the Ludovisi Throne is explained by the fact that the latter was created some thirty years earlier by a Parian sculptor, while the Boston Throne



is the work of a southern Italian artist who saw Greek style more from the outside. Syracuse, the oldest colony in Magna Graecia, founded by Corinth in 735, also remained the most important and lasted the longest; it was destroyed by the Romans in 212, during the Second Punic War. Even today, the island town, with its narrow, cobbled streets, still looks more Greek than other cities in southern Italy or Sicily; after all, Arethusa, the nymph of the wonderful island spring, fled here, to Ortygia, from Aetolia, when she was being pursued by the river-god Achelous. Corinthian Syracuse was not so obstinately shut in upon itself as Spartan Tarentum; it had something of the Attic spirit, and combined Dorian and Ionian elements. It is not without significance that Aeschylus, Pindar and Plato all came to Syracuse. We have already met the most beautiful of the Arethusa coins, which combines Corinthian clarity with a touch of Attic greatness. Because of this open attitude the typically Syracusan is more difficult to grasp or define than work from Tarentum or Locri. There are splendid marble torsos and bronze statuettes from Syracuse and the surrounding area which in comparison with their models achieve even more impressively and strikingly that immediate, articulate likeness to life which was sought in Tarentum too.

Richest of all are the monumental finds at Selinus, the westernmost of the Greek colonies, with the mightiest series of temples to be found anywhere in the Hellenic world. The numerous terracottas and the fragments of marble and limestone statues range in quality from faithful imitations of Ionian models down to modest, even crude products. The famous metope reliefs are based on designs by artists from some great Greek centre, possibly Athens. The most important are the metopes of the temple of Hera. They can stand comparison with those of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but they are a little more old-fashioned and with their decidedly Ionic character make us conscious once again of the Doric elements in the Olympia sculptures. The sculptor must have known the work of Kritios in Athens but have worked for a long time in Selinus, for indigenous elements are unmistakable, and not only in the technique. There were six metopes over the front of the cella and six over the back as at Olympia; those that have been preserved show various encounters between male and female beings.

In the east metopes, the looseness of the structure strikes one most in the Amazon whose girdle Heracles wants to steal. She makes scarcely any more resistance than a hunted animal. The sculptor shows her face from the front because the inner significance of the encounter is more important to him than the outward details. In the two other metopes it is the goddess who is victorious: Artemis, standing there quietly in her simple chiton, produces such a solemn effect that one can hate the dogs which are tearing Actaeon to pieces but not the goddess who urges them on with a slight movement of her forearm. The most magnificent of the metopes, the one which stood over the right of the entrance, shows Hera in person unveiling herself on Ida to captivate Zeus and thus keep him away from the battle.

PLATE P. 29 BELOW

APPX. PL. 18

FIGS. 15-26

APPX. PL. 3

APPX. PL. 18

PLATE 26 - Colossal head (Persephone?). About 470 B.C. *Schloss Fasanerie, near Fulda*. Height 17¹/₅ in. Cf. p. 107.

She is wearing her rich costume, the slanting himation over the sleeved chiton and a second cloak over her head. She is just removing this second cloak, holding the hem with both hands, and looks so glorious that Zeus seizes her by the left wrist, like a bridegroom grasping the bride. In his excitement his cloak has slipped off his left shoulder into his lap. His mouth is slightly open. Only the toes of the right foot still touch the ground. He bends forward, leaning on his left hand. He is about to draw the goddess towards him; her raised left arm indicates resistance. Zeus' hair is twined round his head in plaits; on it rests a metal garland. Once again the structure is less important than the characterization of the figures in their movements and appearance. The lower part of Zeus' body is not stressed; but the breast with its strong arms broadens out all the more powerfully above the taut belly to carry the majestic head. There is little trace in this metope of the tragic element in Attic art, much less than at Olympia, which in this betrays the influence of Athens. But never again have there been such simple, unbroken gestures; and never again was there such joy in rendering visible the invisible currents flowing between two beings.

II. THE MATURE CLASSICAL PERIOD

By the mature of full classical art of the Greeks we mean the creations of the period in which the Acropolis of Athens assumed its permanent form. The building accounts, preserved in marble inscriptions, indicate that the main buildings arose in astonishingly quick succession. In one single decade, from 448 to 438, the architect Iktinos completed the Parthenon and Pheidias directed the execution of the sculptural decoration. In the next six years, down to the beginning of the Peloponnesian War, Mnesikles erected the Propylaea, and the temple of Athena Nike seems to have been started in the same period. After the Peace of Nicias (421) the Erechtheum was built and the temple of Athena Nike was finished; then, in 416, the war broke out again and ended in 404 with the defeat of Athens. In a short breathing-space after Alcibiades' last victories in 408 the frieze of the Erechtheum and the balustrade round the temple of Nike seem to have been executed. The works produced after the Peace of Nicias already reflect a different spirit; they no longer belong to the mature classical style but to the rich style, a transitional style that was succeeded about 380 by the late classical style. On the Acropolis the rich style only adorned what the high classical period had created, and later periods shrank from altering the appearance of the classical Acropolis.

The metopes of the Parthenon were completed between 448 and 442, most of the frieze from 442 to 438, and the pediments from 438 to 432. It is therefore relatively easy to date works of this period, according to whether they show more resemblance to the metopes, the frieze or the pediments. The Caryatids of the Erechtheum and a record relief of 420 provide further points of reference. Here the rhythm of construction is richer than that of the Parthenon period; opposing forces are observed and the figures can be linked more easily not only with one but even with two partners; the Orpheus relief provides the most perfect example of this. Works that approach this conception can thus be dated after 430. It becomes clear that other works of art can be compared more easily with the friezes of the Parthenon and the east pediment than with the west pediment, the centre of which rises boldly above the quieter path of contemporary sculptors: Pheidias stands out supreme like the old Michelangelo.

In the Acropolis the spiritual pre-eminence of Athens achieved a form which we are apt to take too much for granted. It was only against considerable opposition that Pericles was able to turn his vision into reality and to bring the work which Themistocles had begun to a conclusion of unexpected glory. In doing so he had no outward authority; he was but one among many high officials of a democracy and managed to get his way only through the respect inspired by his own personality and by his own cleverness. He obtained financial means to carry out his building projects by successfully proposing that the treasury of the Athenian maritime confederacy should be transferred from Delos to Athens. He then put forward a plan to rebuild all the temples destroyed by the Persians and to transform the

BASES OF CHRONOLOGY

FIG. 9

PLATE P. 120

PLATES PP. 167, 173

FIGS. 57-59

PLATES PP.

120, 125, 128

FIGS. 34-37

APPX. PL. 30, 37

FIG. 52

FIG. 35

Acropolis from a fortress into a festive showplace. The most vivid picture of Pericles is to be found in Plutarch's *Life*; this must be read by anyone who wishes to understand classical Athens.

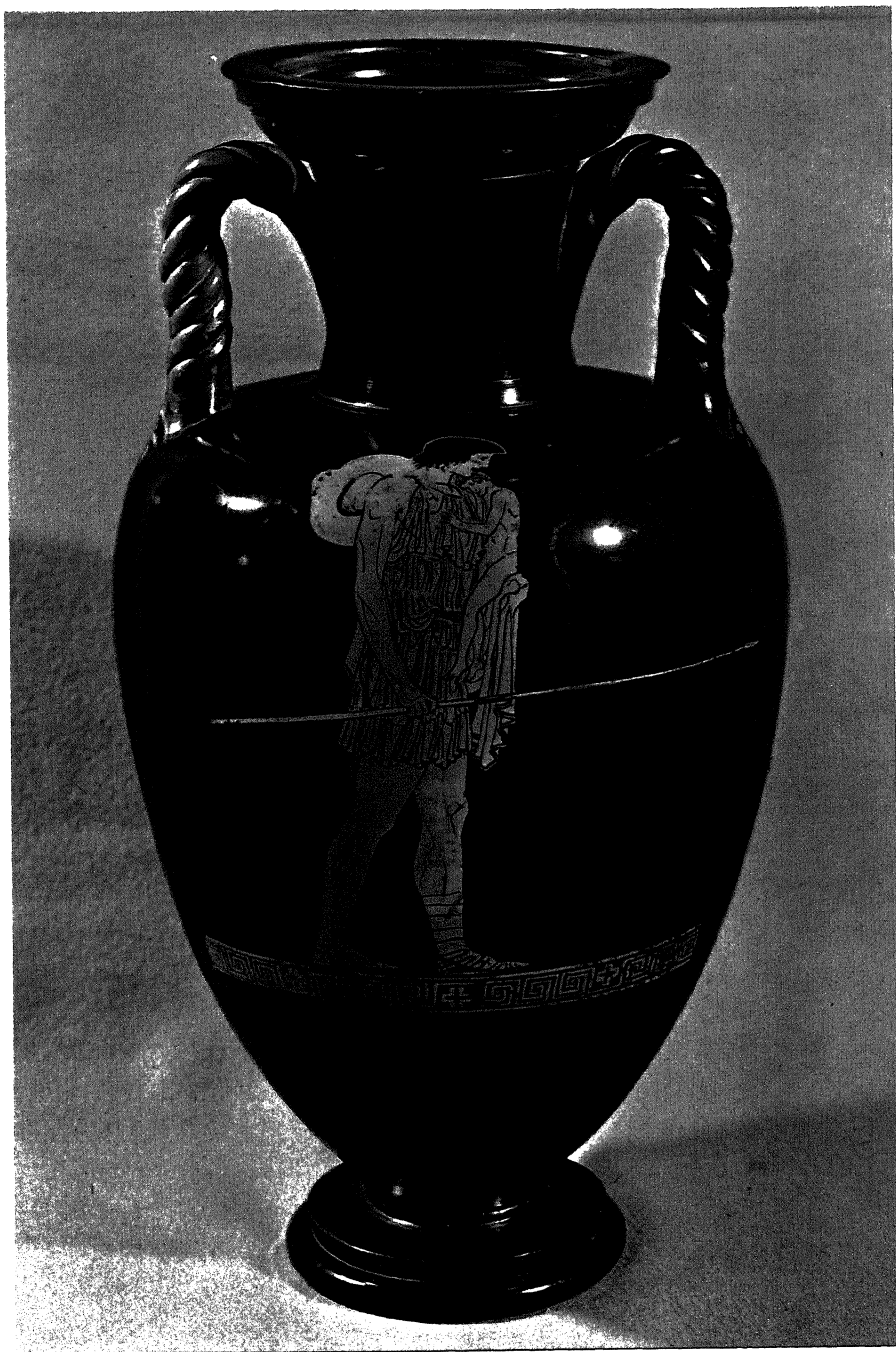
According to Plutarch, Pheidias was Pericles' closest colleague and adviser. One can sense from the whole layout of the classical Acropolis how here the artistic statesman and the sculptor with a feeling for considerations of state collaborated. As always, public esteem was the prerequisite for the efflorescence of art; in times which think only of ends and means art has a struggle to accomplish anything at all. If a genius is to pour forth the blessings of his creativity the ground must be prepared beforehand and thirsty to receive them. It was in a universally favourable time like this that Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, Pheidias, Myron and Polykleitos, the painter Polygnotos, and the philosophers Anaxagoras and Democritus all lived; there were also statesmen like Cimon and Pericles, who knew how to stimulate their fellow-citizens to realize their highest possibilities. Never had a Greek community been so rich as Athens in the fifth century, and never did a community live so modestly in private, devoting all its wealth to the adornment of its temples.

PAINTING Sculpture is the leading art in the mature classical period. Painting, too, continued to cultivate a sculptural style, the most perfect there has ever been. In this period there was no painter with the outstanding powers of invention of Polygnotos. It was now the task of painting to cover great areas with the new organically unified vision. Thus Agatharchos of Samos was famous for his stage scenery, which was painted in perspective; all we know of it is that perspective remained subordinate to the sculptural element. Apollodoros of Athens was celebrated for the way in which he made shadow assist sculptural modelling. Vase-paintings convey some idea of this. The classical relationship between figure and background was imitated on Trajan's column, which is of course far from classical in its content. Pheidias himself painted the Gigantomachy on the inside of the shield of Athena Parthenos, and his nephew Panainos painted pictures on the barriers on each side of the statue of Zeus at Olympia.

PLATES PP. 50, 51 In vase-painting the artist who leads us into the mature classical period is the Achilles painter, whose work can be followed for an unusually long time, from about 470 to after 440. With his predecessors, the Providence painter and Hermonax, he stems ultimately from the Berlin painter; and if we include his successors, especially the delicate painter of the Boston phiale, his style of work extends down to about 420. Some of his white-ground lekythoi are among the finest accomplishments of draughtsmanship, and a number of the themes of his red-figure vases obviously come from large-scale painting. The Achilles painter was outstanding in his ability to handle such themes with his own technique. Among them is the charming picture on the neck amphora in the Cabinet des Médailles, the shepherd Euphorbos with the little Oedipus. Sophocles' *Oedipus Tyrannus* was first performed

PLATE P. 113

PLATE 27 - The shepherd Euphorbos with the child Oedipus. Amphora with twisted handles by the Achilles painter. After 450 B.C. Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale. Height 1 ft. 8 in. Cf. above.



113

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long after this picture was painted (soon after 450), but as in Sophocles this aristocratic shepherd seems to be taking the child to a king, while in Aeschylus' *Laius* (performed in 465) the child grew up among wild herdsmen. In the picture human kindness is unconsciously working against divine foreknowledge. Apollo had predicted that this child would slay his father and marry his mother. That was why he had been exposed to die. The shepherd who finds him knows nothing of the terrible future. He walks along with calm dignity, carefully dressed in belted chiton, traveller's hat, sandals and puttees; he even carries a spear, like an aristocrat, and only his untidy hair points to his humble origin. The expression in his eye reveals his feeling for the precious life that has been saved, and the child's eyes are open, too; he trusts his saviour, against whose breast he leans his little head, feeling the shepherd with his tiny left hand. How wonderful it is that the painter should have chosen precisely this scene, in which the human warmth and the whole earthly destiny of the myth are contained in embryo. It is not through guilt that Euphorbos and Oedipus err, but because men cannot help straying; only the gods know the right path.

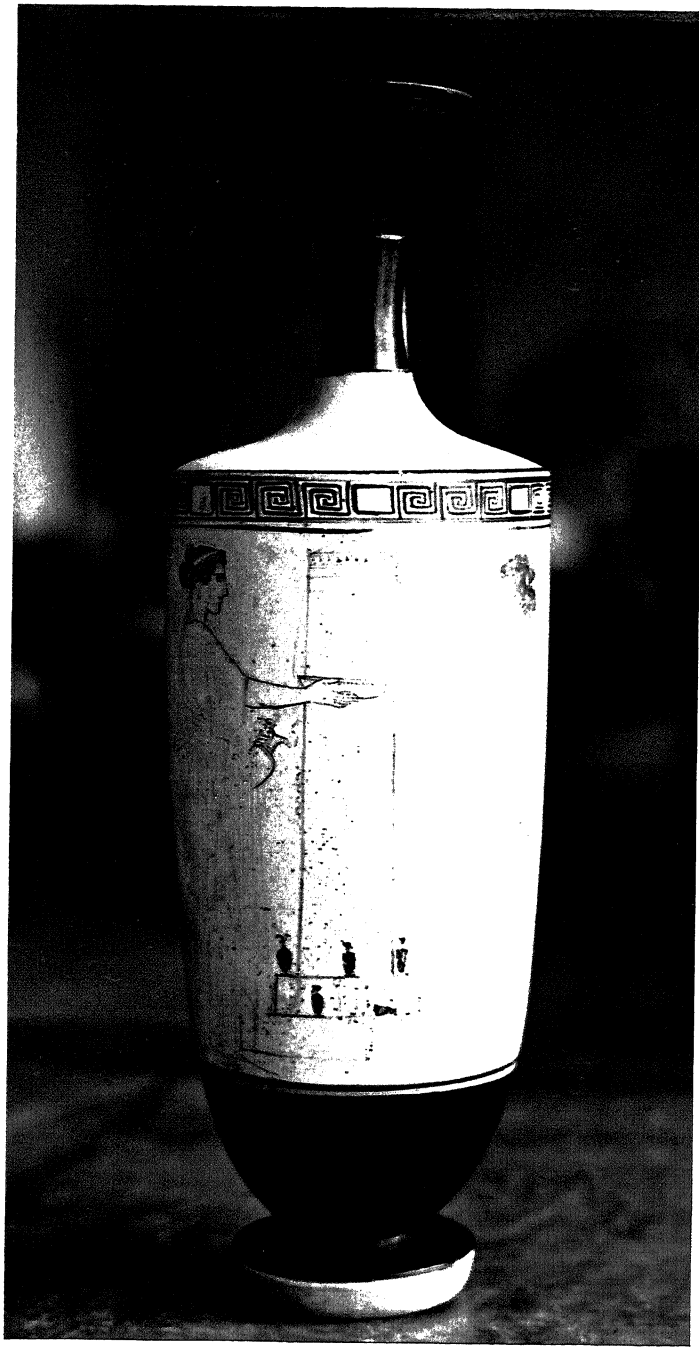
The attitude, too, differs from that of the figures on the vases we have looked at hitherto: the forms are plastically modelled and organically bound together. The proud, erect figure is becoming supple and there are even clearer signs of the harmonious *contrapposto* than there were on the Argonaut crater. But something of the erectness of the severe style is still preserved; the picture cannot have been painted long after 450. It is therefore all the more significant that we already meet here the detailed modelling of the chiton which in sculpture first occurs, so far as our knowledge extends, in the metopes of the Parthenon. Obviously this modelling comes from large-scale painting; it is the delicacy of transparent draperies for which Polygnotos was famed. We see clearly here how painting led the way for mature classical sculpture. All the pictures of the Achilles painter reflect greatness of mind. Nor does he need to seek a majestic charm; it comes naturally to him.

Instead of one of his whitelekythoi we show a less well-known one by the Bosanquet painter, who is closely akin to him. The tender radiance of the colours of this lekythos corresponds to the spirit of Attic sepulchral art; it is the radiance of the purer reality of the world of the dead, a world removed from the confusion of everyday life. Even the content of the white-ground scenes has something visionary, something not easy to grasp about it, simple as the basic meaning is. It is the same as in the tomb reliefs. One must visualize the lekythoi standing on the grave, beside the gravestone itself. The passer-by, as he walks down one of the roads along which such graves were situated, reads the name or is stimulated by some emblem to think of the dead man, a picture of whom now rises before his mind's eye. Hence a whole series of themes on the reliefs and on the lekythoi. Often only one of the themes is represented, and it can only be understood when one is familiar with the significant context. The first theme is the gravestone itself, which occurs

PLATE P. 66

PLATE P. 115

PLATE 28 – Maiden and youth at the grave. White-ground lekythos by the Bosanquet painter. About 440 B.C. *Basle. Height 16 in. Cf. above.*



very often on lekythoi, less often on reliefs. Usually it is a tall stele, adorned with palmettes and richly embellished with decorative bands. To this memorial comes a lady visitor, in our picture with jug and libation-cup; often the dead man appears on the other side of the memorial, as one might see him in all his beauty in a dream, or else in a scene from life, such as a hare-hunt. On this particular lekythos the young man wears the short cloak and the sun-hat of the traveller, but he also carries two spears, like an Attic ephebe serving in the frontier guard. Above on the left hangs the girl's hood and a jug, as if we were in her house. The whole thing resembles a parting scene in the house, at which such libations with the phiale were customary. Thus the imaginary picture leads back from the grave to life; yet it is not everyday life, but a purer, more fundamental life, which shines through everyday life and gives it its meaning. Hence also the wonderful simplicity and the nobility of the pose. The delicate, swinging movement follows the relaxed rhythm of the Parthenon frieze.

It is very significant that the Achilles painter often depicted Oedipus solving the riddle of the Sphinx, that is, a frontier situation of life underlining both its greatness and its conditional nature. Just as the old heroes overcame fabulous monsters, so Oedipus was to master the Sphinx by his cleverness. He describes to it the path of man, who first crawls on four legs, then walks on two, and finally in old age hobbles along on three until he dies. Thereupon the Sphinx fell from its pillar. We usually find these problem pictures on lekythoi destined for graves. Like Oedipus, the dead man has solved the riddle of life; for him there is no longer any Sphinx.



FIG. 31 - *Tumbler by the Kleophon painter. About 440 B.C. Leningrad. Cf. p. 117.*

Another important painter of the Parthenon period takes his name from the fair Kleophon, a love-name. The fire in his characters' eyes, the mighty figures of his drinkers, his Return of Hephaestus to Heaven and his departing warriors rival the east pediment of the Parthenon in their dignity. Indeed, they have the advantage of being fully preserved. It is wonderful how here the plastic linear style has been transferred to vase-painting, while the Lykaon painter, only a little earlier, in his picture of Elpenor's appearance before Odysseus, is more under the sway of large-scale painting: his figures give the impression of being cut out of the black background. The originals in big pictures were probably linked to the bright background in a more graduated way. On the original one can see better how the unburied ghost Elpenor leans feebly against the overgrown cliff, and how the blood of the sacrificed rams runs over the shore of Hades. In the expressions of Elpenor and Odysseus Polygnotan ethos is refined and deepened in a way unparalleled in the art of the Parthenon period.

We can gain a better idea of what the mythological pictures in the Propylaea looked like from the Penelope painter, christened after his lively, dramatic pictures of scenes from the *Odyssey*. On the drinking-cup in Berlin, in two three-figure groups, he has condensed the whole story of Odysseus' murder of the wooers. He has not chosen the fateful silence before or after the deed, as the severe style would have done, but the moment of decision: the master of the bow has shot through the axes, so that

'Fear seized the wooers and all their faces paled. . .'
and he has threatened:
'Now I choose a target that no marksman has yet hit. . .'
He spoke, and hit Antinous with the bitter bolt of death. . .'

The painter does not stick to the details of the epic account and yet he has captured the essence of the event: the suddenness of the moment in the elastic step, the horror and fear of the handsome young suitors, the prudence of the older one bending down behind the table, and the concern of the maids, who seem to be on the side of the young men.

How we should respond to the classical law emerges most clearly perhaps in the many pictures of people making music that now occur – women among themselves, Orpheus among the Thracians, Musaeus and other mythical poets, the Muses on Helicon. The rapture of the players, the emotion of the listeners, hearing inwardly with closed eyes, the fusing of the hearkening souls has never again been so strikingly depicted. The supple structure of all the outlines of architectonic and metaphorical forms, the delicate yet always noble proportioning of all the profiles, and the harmonious quality of the movements echo the sound of classical music.

While Pheidias on the Parthenon, up to the west pediment, unfolded the sublimity of the classical style, most of his contemporaries turned more to the new differentiation of the spiritual element, the flow of feeling from one person to another. The parted are united more inwardly on gravestones; and two-figure groups are succeeded by three-figure ones, just as in tragedy conversations between three characters now become more common. In the relations between mother and child,

FIG. 31

PLATE P. 125

APPX. PL. 16

FIG. 32

PLATES PP.

113, 115, 153

PLATE P. 153



FIG. 32 - *Slaying of the suitors. Skyphos by the Penelope painter. About 440 B.C. Berlin. Height 12 in. Cf. p. 117.*

SCULPTURE
AND
ARCHITECTURE

*Pheidias and the
Parthenon*

PLATES PP. 120-128

FIGS. 44, 46, 62

too, and those between man and his domestic animals, artists surrender to the sweet magic of life. Soon experience of this sort becomes more important than classical Being, and this is the beginning of the rich style.

Iktinos, the architect of the Parthenon, is known to us as a gifted innovator through other buildings as well, the mystery temple at Eleusis and the temple of Apollo at Bassae. His colleague, Kallikrates, had the job of building the temple of Victory and the long walls connecting Athens with the Peiraeus. So far as Pheidias himself is concerned, we know that he made the statue of Athena Parthenos out of gold and ivory. But he must also have played a decisive part in the creation of the rest of the sculptural decorations, for Aristotle praises him as an outstanding sculptor in marble. This can only refer to the Parthenon, for Pheidias' individual statues were of gold and ivory or of bronze. Pheidias, Iktinos and Kallikrates must have worked in perfect collaboration, for the sculpture and the architecture of the Parthenon formed one incomparable whole: even in the smallest details the central function of the cult statue of the goddess Athene makes itself felt.

FIG. 9 The foundations preserved from the early classical building were extended thirteen feet northward. Instead of the traditional ratio of 6 : 13 columns, that of 8 : 17 was adopted. Façades of eight columns had hitherto been seen only on giant Ionic temples and on Doric ones in Cyrene and Magna Graecia which competed in size with the colossal dimensions of Ionic temples. Thus the very number of the columns is an Ionic feature. In addition, they are so unprecedentedly slender and placed so close together that the individual columns do not stand out from the building as a whole so independently as in the older Doric temple. The entablature, too, is unusually light. The colonnade or peristyle surrounds the building like a shimmering sheath, with that surface charm which distinguishes Ionian art. The plastic compactness is strengthened by the exceptional narrowness of the side and end passages. In addition, six columns stand before each end of the temple building itself, which brings one still closer to the multiplicity of columns characteristic of Ionic architecture. The antae are simply shallow pilasters, while in the older Doric

temples they had formed the ends of real walls and had left room for only two columns between them.

Other Ionic elements are the frieze, which runs round above the cella, with a Lesbian kymation; the astragal over the metopes and above on the horizontal geison, the ornamental moulding and astragal over the antae capitals, and especially the four Ionic columns which supported the roof of the rectangular west chamber. The Parthenon is distinguished just as much by this synthesis of Ionic and Doric elements as by the perfection of the masonry, which was facilitated by the choice of material, and the splendour of its sculptures. No other temple has a continuous sculptured frieze round the cella as well as sculptured metopes. Above all the cult statue gained a splendour only made possible by the narrowing of the side passages and the unparalleled widening of the interior. The width of the interior is in fact nearly 62 feet and that of the central nave $34\frac{1}{2}$ feet. The interior columns run round behind the cult statue; this too is new and helps to emphasize the feeling of breadth. Yet space does not become an end in itself, as it is in the architecture of the Latin West; it is subordinate to the plasticity of the statue, the columns and the entablature. What one notices at once, in comparison with the temple of Zeus at Olympia, is that to each column belong not two but three slabs of the stylobate, and that the columns thus stand on joints, not in the middle of slabs. This is not a return to archaic irregularity, as some people have thought; it can only be understood when we realize that the classical style saw the stylobate as an integral part of the whole. Another unifying factor, as Gruben has shown, is the application of the ratio 8 : 18 to the whole building: this is the relationship between the diameter of the columns and the interval between them, between the outside edges of the ends and sides of the stylobate, and between the height (up to the geison) and width of the façade. This could only be achieved by pushing the corner columns rather closer together than was usual and by a very slight difference in the intervals between the columns on the ends and down the sides (it is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches). Here again an archaic expedient is adopted in the cause of unity. The proportion 8 : 18 recurs in the measurements of the height and width of the temple. Height is related to length in the proportion $8^2 : 18^2$, and breadth to length of the temple proper is again 8 : 18. Thus elements still unrelated at Olympia have been brought into harmony with each other by mathematical links. One cannot help thinking of Pericles' friendship with the philosopher Anaxagoras, who saw in measured relationships the effects of the world-reason, the mind that governs everything.

These measured relationships must not be understood as mere calculations, for they are bound up, in an incredibly delicate way, with the plastic life of the building. All the lines have a slight convex curve. There had been curves of this sort on archaic stylobates, and in Magna Graecia at that time columns had bulged considerably with what is known as 'entasis'. But the Parthenon was the first building in which this curvature was applied throughout in the most delicate way, right up to the area of the pediment. Since all the joints are vertical, all the blocks and sections had to be shaped like trapezia, each of them with different angles. In addition, all the vertical members and surfaces lean slightly inward, the columns about three inches; but the geison leans outward. All this can only be explained by the fact that

PLATE P. 120

FIG. 33

FIG. 27



PLATE 29 — View into the west porch of the Parthenon. Athens. 448–438 B.C. *Cf. p. 119.*

he building was conceived as a living body, breathing with the statue of the goddess. It is condensed in the sculptural decorations and blossoms out in the ornaments, particularly in the tiles of the façade and in the akroteria, richly entwined acanthus shoots, with palmettes sprouting out of them like flames, in richer and richer colours. The big expanses of the substructure, columns, walls, architraves and geisons remained unpainted, but with the red rings round the capitals a delicate horizontal articulation began. The taenia of the architrave were red, too, and so were the mouldings over the triglyphs, enlivened in each case with a gold meander. In contrast with these were the blue verticals of the triglyphs, regulae and mutuli, while the colours met in the sculptures, the coffers of the ceiling and the blossoms on the edge of the roof.

The synthesis of Doric and Ionic elements which we have described in the building recurs in the sculptures. The delicacy of Ionian marble work, the feeling for the shimmering life of the surface, unites with the sense of law, the strict canon of the human figure which Polykleitos had developed to perfection from Argive tradition. Just as the architecture fulfils the promise of the Parthenon's predecessors, so the sculpture sums up Attic tradition, with the same consistency and individuality that distinguish the Attic tragic poets.

The cult statue was about 12 yards high; 37 feet according to Pliny 36, 18. The base showed the adornment of Pandora in the presence of 20 gods, a mythical example of the art of the goddess who in Pandora had created the archetype of perfect beauty. This would make everyone think of the fate which Pandora had brought to mankind, like another great temptress, Helen. It was in this sense that Polygnotos had depicted Helen in his famous painting of the sack of Troy, and it was for the same purpose that Pheidias' pupil, Agorakritos, was to let Helen appear on the base of the statue of Nemesis at Rhamnus about 420. The tragedy of human existence — divine grace and earthly conditionality — was discovered in the century of tragedy. The circle of gods that appears here can be seen four more times on the Parthenon: on the inside of Athena's shield, in the battle with the giants; on the east side of the temple in the metopes, again in the battle with the giants; in the frieze, at the handing over of the robe to Athene; and finally in the pediment at the birth of the goddess.

It is only in battle that divine order and form triumph over the lack of measure that attracts and threatens us today more than ever. That is why the struggle of the gods with the giants is balanced on the outside of the shield by the victory of the Athenians over the Amazons, and on the edges of the goddess's soles could be seen Theseus and the Lapiths fighting against the Centaurs. Pheidias was the first to represent the Gigantomachy as a cosmic event; he makes the giants storm up the mountain of heaven and the gods, surrounded by the day stars, fight from above. These scenes are the ones most likely to have been executed by Pheidias himself, because their small format made them easier to control than the vast marble work of the frieze round the cella. We too can grasp these small pictures better than the whole statue, for reproductions of it preserve little of the style of the original.

It looks as if the secret of the work lay in the new lofty understanding of life.

FIG. 33

FIG. 36

FIG. 34

FIG. 33



FIG. 33 - *Reconstruction of the main interior hall of the Parthenon, after C. Praschniker, 448-442 B.C. Cf. pp. 119-123.*

Athene appeared without her solemn cloak, in the homely peplos. A big line of movement ran through the figure from the free leg right up to the radiant countenance and interpreted the standing position as strength collected in the equilibrium of Being and time, freedom and constraint. Admirers said that Pheidias had seen the goddess herself. This divine freedom must have disconcerted anyone used to the old cult statues, for he was challenged to learn the inner law of life and to live in accordance with it. It is much more comfortable to follow the outward prescriptions of traditional habit and custom. That is why Pheidias gave the statue as a whole an almost archaic appearance by endowing it with a large number of attributes. Everything temporal was submerged in the variety of timeless motifs. The sculptor did not destroy tradition; he gave it a new interpretation and brought it to fulfilment. Beside the shield rose one of the heroes who dwelt in the depths of the citadel rock, Erichthonios, in the sinister shape of a snake. The peplos was girded with snakes, and snakes played round the aegis. The spear rested on a bronze sphinx. The central crest of the helmet was supported by a sphinx, and these on each side of it by winged horses. The edge of the helmet was adorned with griffins and possibly with roes. A column with the original form of the Corinthian capital supported Athene's right hand, on which the goddess of victory hovered. It was primarily the unified ideal programme of the Parthenon's sculptural deco-

rations that dictated their style. The beginning points forward to the whole; the style of the execution is inseparable from the poetic idea underlying it. The theme of the metopes as a whole is the struggle of the gods and the Athenians against the enemies of the classical world. The Gigantomachy of the east metopes depicts as never before the whole cosmos of the Olympians in the spirit of Homer. Over the seven intervals between the columns were twice seven metopes; in the middle of the left-hand seven stood Athene, who was regarded as the real victor over the giants, and in the middle of the right-hand seven Heracles, without whom the victory could not have been gained. In between them six metopes were left for the three higher divine couples: in the middle were Zeus and Hera, to the left of them Poseidon and Amphitrite, and to the right of them, likewise facing inward, Apollo and Artemis. The first three metopes depicted Hermes, Dionysus and Ares, and the last three Aphrodite, her husband Hephaestus and Helios. The composition unified the alternation of metope and triglyph for the first and only time into a whole, which together with the composition of the pediment contributed to the unity of the building. Pheidias' idea of framing all important happenings with the motions of the heavenly bodies was imitated throughout antiquity, as a symbol of the eternal cosmic laws. Behind this, as B. Schweitzer saw, was Anaxagoras' doctrine of the divine intelligence which reveals itself in the laws which govern everything that happens. Just as the gods defeated the giants, so the Athenians under Theseus defeated the Amazons and the Centaurs; the Amazons appear in the west metopes, the Centaurs in 24 of the 32 south metopes. The eight lost metopes of the south side seem to have depicted, according to old drawings, the foundation of the Panathenaic festival. In all these battles it was Athena who brought victory, as she did in the battles of the Greeks against the Trojans depicted in the north metopes. The subject is not the destinies of individuals but the destiny of a whole people and its gods.

These mythical pictures are still more closely linked to the present by the 173-yard-long frieze showing the procession of Athenians at the Panathenaea. Hitherto themes like this had been confined to small votive reliefs. The monumental treatment was unparalleled; in older art only processions of gods are at all comparable in splendour. The east frieze brings back the figure seven, familiar to us from the intervals between the columns and from the metopes: the central scene showing the handing over of the peplos is accompanied by two groups of gods, two groups of heroes and two processions of maidens. There are thus seven groups altogether, which include 14 gods and 14 heroes and stewards. There are 30 maidens, three from each of the ten phylae or tribes into which the Attic people was divided. The composition of the other friezes was freer. The right-hand half of the north frieze was taken up by the horsemen, then a quarter by the chariots, and the last quarter by the sacrificial procession of youths. The less well-preserved south frieze was arranged in a parallel fashion. The west frieze is the best preserved; it shows the horsemen starting out. The frieze as a whole gives a radiant picture of Attic life, but the picture is only an archetype. There is none of the pomp with which the Renaissance tricked out such processions in order to lend a little glory to a somewhat shabby life. It is the perfection of classical life that men and animals, devoid

FIG. 34

PLATE P. 128

FIGS. 36, 37

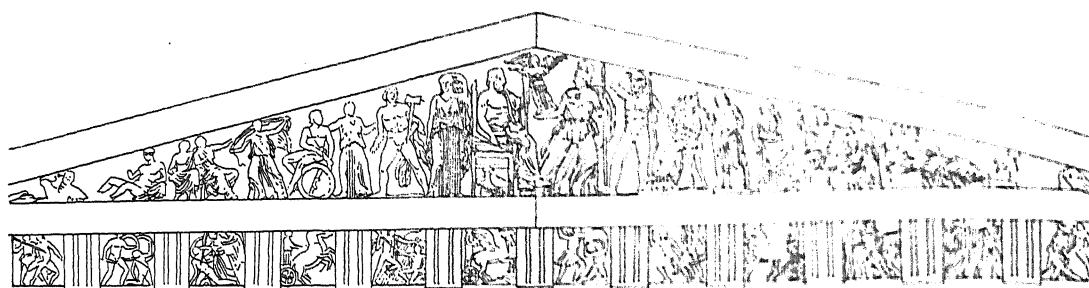


FIG. 34 - *Reconstruction of the east pediment and metopes (without the Hermes and Helios metopes) of the Parthenon, after E. Berger. 448-432 B.C. Cf. p. 123 and below.*

of all pomp, are yet seen from such a lofty standpoint that they embody the whole wonder of creation.

FIG. 34

The east pediment puts the crowning touch, on a colossal scale, to the theme of the east front, the cosmos of the Olympians. They are no longer fighting, as in the metopes, or on earth, as in the frieze, but on Olympus, at the birth of Athena, whose birthday was also celebrated at the Panathenaea. To deal first with the reclining figures, Dionysus on the left and Aphrodite on the right have not yet noticed the great event that has taken place in the centre. The birth breaks into the wonderful stillness like a sunrise. In real life it was at sunrise in the morning of a glowing August day that the festive procession entered the city, and on the left of the pediment Helios rises; his horses shy at the wonder reigning over all nature. The identity of only a few of the central figures is known for certain: Hephaestus and Zeus on his throne from a Roman relief in Madrid, Hera standing behind him from fragments on the Acropolis, Athena, moving and sparkling like a swift ray of light, from Roman copies, and finally the Nike that crowned the composition from a fragment of the original in the British Museum. The figures at the sides, who are reacting to the event in the centre, give us a better idea of its frightening wonder than any reconstruction: the intimate group of Demeter and Cora sitting to the left on the chest with the secret Eleusinian vessels, by which they can be identified, and to the right a figure that is probably Leto, who has already noticed the event. Peitho is just beginning to pay attention, but she does not wish to disturb her mistress Aphrodite, who is resting in her lap. To the right of Aphrodite Night, who belongs to her, drives her team down into the river encircling the earth.

PLATE P. 125

FIG. 35

The west pediment goes with the east pediment as action goes with rest or day with night. The scene is not Olympus but the Acropolis of Athens. Perfection just appears on Olympus, but on earth it demands the check of opposing forces, struggle. Thus the east frieze shows the calm tranquillity of the groups of gods, the west frieze shows the stormy movement as the riders start out, and the west pediment the extreme intensification of movement. Athena and Poseidon have

FIGS. 36, 37

PLATE P. 120

FIG. 35

themselves come down from Olympus to the citadel and are taking possession of it; the venerable families of the heroes of the citadel scatter in terror. Thus the figures are not resting quietly, as they are in the east; they are erect and pushing forward into the plane of the picture. Pheidias shows classical fulfilment not only in the equilibrium of the resting *contrapposto*, like Polykleitos, but also in that of movement. He transforms the old theme of the battle of the gods into a competition. Athena and Poseidon are not aiming at each other but at the same spot of ground, in order to stick spear and trident into the earth as a sign of their sovereignty; they are taking possession. They start back at the wonder they have created. The early archaic period had seen gods and heroes as the daemonic causes of happenings, but Pheidias is the first to make us understand their activities as events, from their numinous appearance, intensified by the fiery steeds, to the fright of the heroes. In the pediments of Olympia Zeus and Apollo had still been invisible to the heroes, embodying destiny in powerful Being; now they execute it. The dispute between Athena and Poseidon had never been depicted before; in older art the Olympian gods had only confronted each other when they took a hand in battles between heroes. Pheidias sees the spirit or intelligence that permeates the world as embodied in concrete figures. When he shows the birth from the head of Zeus, which had been a stumbling block to early classical feeling, we believe him; the naïve reality of the fairy tale has been replaced by a higher, inward,

PLATE 30 - Leto(?), Peitho and Aphrodite, from the east pediment of the Parthenon. 438-432 B.C.
London. Cf. p. 124.



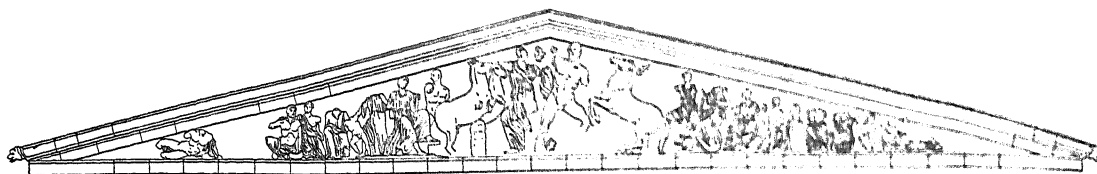


FIG. 35 - *Reconstruction of the west pediment of the Parthenon, after F. Brommer. 438-432 B.C. Cf. p. 124.*

spiritual one. The gathering of the Olympians assumes a new meaning, too, in that each god is understood as a model of what man can achieve. The transitory events of earthly life are controlled by cosmic collaboration. Everything is shaped by the goddess in which Anaxagoras' *Noos*, the universal intelligence, is made manifest. Through the sculpture and architecture of the Parthenon runs a unified stream of life which brings home to us in continually changing forms man's vocation to turn that divine essence into reality. This meaning shines forth from the building, especially when one sees it from one of the neighbouring hills; it looks then like something that has come down from above, something heavenly that radiates light on earth, like the dwelling of the divinity which has lent earth its perfection.

PLATE P. 128

FIGS. 34-37

FIG. 38

FIG. 35

FIGS. 36, 37

The execution of the sculptures reveals a change in style from the metopes to the pediments via the frieze. If this was the order in which the work was carried out, we may expect to find that Pheidias' style made itself felt even less in the metopes than in the frieze and pediments. We should also be able to see when Pheidias left Athens to work on his cult statue of Zeus at Olympia. If we look at the metopes on the south side as a whole, it becomes clear that Pheidias' design was limited to the mere provision of themes. His assistants had great freedom and in the older metopes they did not understand his individuality so well as in the more recent ones (p. 123). Common to them all is the conception of the individual as the daemonic, so that the battles, which are at the same time the highest manifestation of life, appear as the expression of inner conflicts between measure and the lack of it, between form and chaos. As always in Greek art, the adversaries are given equal dignity; each is seen as a tragic being conditioned by the tensions which are the very stuff of life. The new conception of the Centaurs, the Shakespearean variety of their ages and characters, is due to Pheidias. Between his sketches and the execution there was a delicate artistic organization which conveyed the genius's intention to the assistants and secured the clearer and clearer expression of it in the frieze and pediments until Pheidias left Athens to work on the statue of Zeus at Olympia. In the west pediment, there is such a profound difference in style between the violent centre-piece and the groups at the sides that we must assume that Pheidias left Athens soon after 435 and was no longer able to supervise the execution of the side groups. We may expect to find his own hand at work most clearly in the middle of the pediments and in the east and west friezes.

The frieze leads us eastward: there the procession is received by the gods in the

happiness of their perfectly fulfilled lives. They move with classical freedom and are distinguished from men only by their individual dignity, their size, the fact that they are sitting and their Olympian calm. They crown the frieze's panorama of life in the way that the akroterion or ornamental finion tops a gravestone, and their natures sum up, as archetypes of it, all that lives and breathes in the whole work. Pheidias was the first sculptor to distinguish the twelve gods not so much by attributes as by Being and attitude. They are more individualized than men, because they are archetypes, while the individual element in men disintegrates into the fortuitous. The Centaurs' heads of the south metopes are at the opposite pole to this kind of individualization. Homer preceded Pheidias in seeing the gods in this way, but Pheidias was the first to give Homer's vision concrete shape. The gods lose in effective power what they gain in comprehensibility. The philosophers of the archaic period realized this. Pheidias compensates for this danger by letting us see all the individual elements together in one cosmos; the gods appear not only in Olympian calm but also in all kinds of battles. Behind the multifarious forms of the gods one senses a higher order, the universal intelligence, the significance of cosmic events.

Zeus on his throne is somewhat bigger than the others; he has to bend his head in order to find room in the frieze, just as Pheidias' statue of Zeus in the temple at Olympia seemed to burst the narrow space. But he does not look so enormous as he did there. His cloak has slipped from his shoulders, his left arm is resting comfortably on the arm of the throne, and his right hand, with the sceptre, rests in his lap. Hera is unveiling herself, facing Zeus like a bride, as glorious as on the first day of their marriage, and Zeus looks at her in admiration: by the language of their eyes they are carried away from the present moment into the eternal aspect of their being. Iris, the messenger of the gods, closely linked to Hera by her attitude, confirms the link by her close attention; she is arranging her hair and robe which have been ruffled in flight. The breathing life and articulation in the clear structure of these figures seem to me to represent faithfully Pheidias' own personal style.

The group of gods in front of Hera betrays an Ionian hand: her broad and powerfully built son Ares, youthfully restless, always ready to spring up, with his hands round his right knee; then Demeter with the torch, touching her chin with her right hand and never free from worry about her distant daughter, Persephone. She is bringing the bread and Dionysus the wine. Dionysus, distinguished as once on Klitias' crater by his way of looking out of the picture, is sitting on a soft cushion, leaning against his brother Hermes, and raising his left hand in festive enthusiasm. Hermes, as messenger, sits right in front, with his traveller's hat, the *petasos*, in his lap; in his right hand he holds the herald's staff. All these figures have an Ionian softness about their bodies and pictorially render moments, though the latter are drawn by an artist with a fiery temperament.

Among the north-facing gods, Athena, furthest back, has the place of honour corresponding to that of Zeus. Turning to talk to her is Hephaestus leaning his right shoulder on a stick, like the cripple that he is. Although Athena is distinguished only by the spear and the aegis lying in her lap, her position and attitude give her a look of superiority; in the female sphere, too, there is a measured, guiding

FIGS. 36, 38

FIG. 37



PLATE 31 - Lapith and Centaur. Marble metope (second from the left) from the south side of the Parthenon. 448-442 B.C. Height 4 ft. 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. London. Cf. p. 126.

element. Eleonore speaks of it in Goethe's *Tasso*. Athena is quite different from Artemis, who, in all her beauty, bends forward in shy excitement and turns to Aphrodite. Next come a pair joined in conversation and in a world of their own, Poseidon and Apollo. Poseidon sits up straight in strict profile, in quiet isolation as the ruler of his own realm of nature, with tangled locks. Apollo wore a metal garland and probably held a laurel staff in his left hand; the gesture links him with Dionysus, so much akin to him. In the radiant glory of his youth he looks at Poseidon, whose severity he shares. Aphrodite is seen here for the first time as the mother of Eros. With maternal concern she has put her umbrella in his hand to protect his naked body. He nestles against her with a child's shyness and hides his hand in her robe, but presses forward with the top half of his body, with a proud glance that reflects the imperiousness of the gesture and its secret, love, which unites beautiful creatures. The enchantment in the glance is intensified by the mother's pointing gesture. We can guess that the half-ruined figure of Aphrodite and those of her neighbours Artemis and Eros symbolized beauty's power to bring happiness, a power that rises above anything to do with sexuality. This vision is implicit in Plato; but while his Eros is winged, so as to be able to contemplate perfection in a higher world, the Eros of Pheidias looks upon the perfection of this world amid the gods appearing in person.

Between the two halves of the group of gods, on the inside of the temple, the events of the procession are completed: two maidens bring chairs to entertain the gods, for the presence of the gods fulfils the prayers of men. The priestess helps them with their burden; she is the priestess of Athena Polias and the central figure of the whole frieze. Behind her the treasurer hands over the new garment, which the procession has brought, to a servant to look after. The outward events could not be simpler, yet in the variety of attitude, age and sex of the five figures there is a polyphonic harmony that gives them a silent greatness.

In comparison with the metopes the style of the frieze is more unified. Yet here too and in the pediments the marks of Attic, Ionian and Dorian collaborators can be distinguished. What is most significant is that the splendour of the central horseman of the west frieze recurs in the middle of the west pediment; this is the mark of Pheidias himself. We have already observed his powers of invention in the east metopes and in the middle of the east frieze; they are clearer here than in the terribly disfigured centre of the east pediment. The fragments of the statues of Athena and Poseidon from the west pediment are the most powerful things that classical art has left us, the crown of Pheidias' work; only the statue of Zeus at Olympia can have been more wonderful. The way in which the aegis and the folds are drawn tautly, yet full of fiery life, over Athena's breast, accompanying the deep breath of triumph, surpasses any similar modelling in the east pediment; there were ceaseless variations on it later, but it was never achieved again. And one has only to compare this colossal Poseidon, its swelling chest muscles and sublime strength, with the calm, aristocratic torso of the east pediment, the quietly dignified Dionysus and the nimble heroes of the west pediment, to appreciate the uniqueness of the work. In the whole composition one can see how much the baroque style owes to it. It reflects a titanic intensification of the moment, something that in the west pedi-

PLATE P. 120
(TO THE LEFT OF THE
COLUMN IN FRONT)
FIGS. 34, 35

FIG. 38

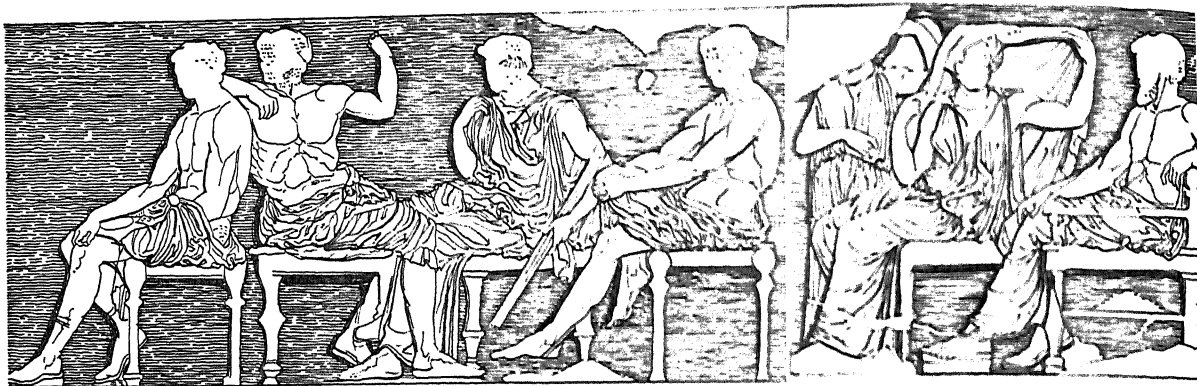


FIG. 36 – From the east frieze of the Parthenon. From left to right: Hermes, Dionysus, Demeter, Ares, Iris, Hera and Zeus. 442–438 B.C. Cf. p. 127.

ment is raised to the timeless by the equilibrium of forces. Thompson saw that this Poseidon was the model for the Triton in the porch of the Roman Odeon. The copy gives some idea how unprecedentedly bold and elemental the god looked in the pediment, with tangled hair flying back, the passionate gaze of the narrow face and the mouth opened a little to utter a proud cry.

The spectators of the west pediment are far removed from such greatness. There is no question here of archetypes; the aim is to show the charm of the unusual and the momentary, to portray individual souls.

Pheidias did not halt at the happiness fulfilled of the birth of Athena. He pressed forward to a still more powerful vision of the gods, just as Michelangelo went on from the ceiling of the Sistine Chapel to create the Last Judgement. And like Michelangelo's successors, those of Pheidias too became mannerists. In the middle of the west pediment from the active tension between the two gods, between the male and female forces, a new lightness, a new movement is gained, which sees Poseidon and Athena, with a limitless power never glimpsed before, as the great male and female gods of the citadel of Athens. The heavens have opened over the Acropolis and the gods have come down to earth.

*Pheidias' Zeus at
Olympia*
FIG. 38

FIGS. 39, 40

Our best witnesses to the appearance of the lost statue of Zeus at Olympia are some rare coins struck for a special occasion by the Emperor Hadrian. Their style shows that the Zeus was created after the Athena Parthenos. This is confirmed by the discovery in Pheidias' workshop at Olympia of the clay moulds for the god's golden robe and by a drinking-cup from the period round 430 inscribed with the owner's name, 'Pheidias'. Further confirmation is provided by reliefs of two friezes showing the slaughter of the children of Niobe by Apollo and Artemis —Roman work, whose style and theme suggest that they are copies of the friezes on the throne of Zeus known to us from literary evidence.

In his Zeus, as in the Athena Parthenos, Pheidias created a new type of cult statue characterized by the wealth of sculpture surrounding it. The more comprehensible



FIG. 37 — From the east frieze of the Parthenon. From left to right: Athena, Hephaestus, Poseidon, Apollo, Artemis, Aphrodite and Eros. 442–438 B.C. Cf. p. 127.

the godhead became in its organic appearance, the clearer the pointers had to be to the supernatural order expressed in myth. Pheidias made visible what the Greek spirit had hitherto only surmised about the supreme god. Zeus had been portrayed at Olympia as striding out with his thunderbolt. Pheidias is bold enough to break with this tradition and to display Homer's Zeus, enthroned in lofty calm. According to descriptions of the statue the pose must have had something imperious about it, with the left leg drawn back and the movement of the right hand, on which the goddess of victory hovered. In this way the victorious aspect of the archaic warrior Zeus and the saving aspect of the early classical Zeus Soter were absorbed into the portrayal. But the thunderbolt was missing and the eagle perched quietly on the sceptre; the god now ruled through spiritual, not physical power. In comparison with the Athena Parthenos the colours were intensified and unified: in front of the statue there was a square paved with blackish limestone and surrounded by a white marble step; on each side, between the columns, there were brightly painted barriers. The throne was made of gold, ebony and ivory, the cloak of gold; the latter was adorned with lilies, the lightning flowers, in glass inlays, small fragments of which have been preserved. The chiton, too, was covered with gold leaf, and so were the sandals. The naked flesh was made of ivory. As in the Parthenon, sculpture and architecture were brought into splendid harmony, although this was much more difficult here, where the statue had to be designed for a building already standing. The statue reached up to the ceiling of the cella; it was seven or eight times life size and over 39 feet high. The height of the throne was four-fifths of the height of the whole work. Athena Parthenos, too, was eight times life-size and about 40 feet high. Both Zeus and Athena were 50 feet from the entrance wall and their bases were 20 feet wide. The use of black stone alongside white stone first occurs in the palaces of Cyrus at Pasargadai about 530; Mnesikles in the Propylaea, Iktinos at Eleusis and Kallimachos in the Erechtheum may have followed this example.

FIG. 33

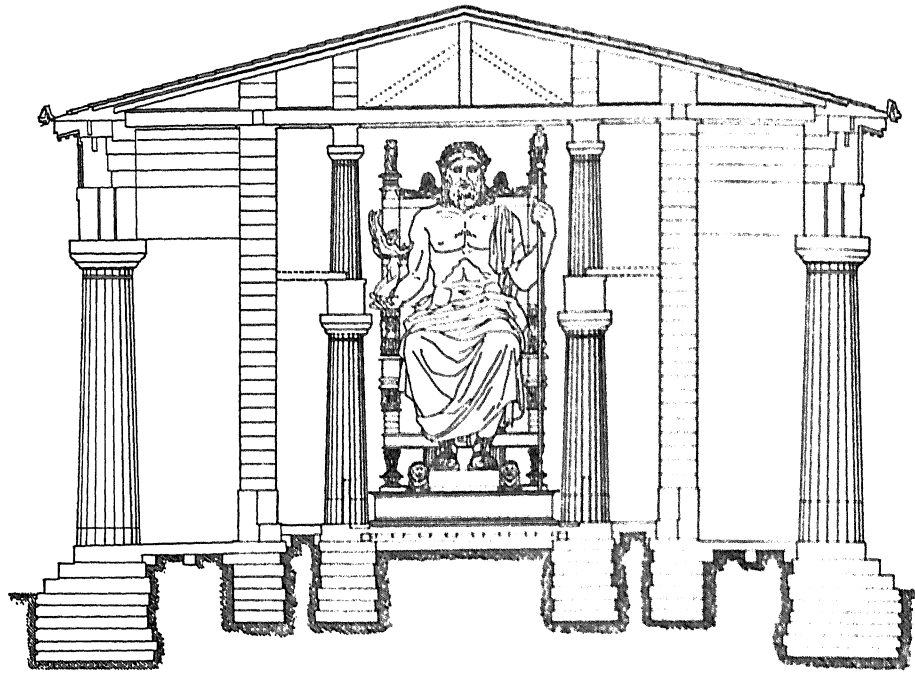


FIG. 38 – Cross-section of the temple of Zeus with Pheidias' cult statue. 460–430 B.C.
Cf. pp. 130–133.

APPX. PL. 46, 47

Later generations felt, as Quintilian tells us (12, 10.9), that Pheidias 'had added something to traditional religion, so adequate to the god himself was the majesty of the work'. But the notion that the work was the classical period's last word in classicism first gained currency through the Stoic philosophy. The late classical style sought a new supra-human transfiguration and found it in the head of Zeus framed in wavy locks of hair that probably goes back to Leochares; classicism was more attached to this late classical portrait. The Stoic philosophy, on the other hand, awoke the feeling that the stern and fateful found purer expression in the Olympian Zeus. With this in mind Dio Chrysostom, in a speech in 90 A.D., calls Pheidias' Zeus the most beautiful and the dearest to God of all works on earth; the mere sight of it, he says, stills all sorrow. Even Christianity, which sees God as the kindly father, has produced no more pregnant and powerful portrait of God the Father; without realizing the fact, it followed the Stoic conception.

On the base one saw the birth of Aphrodite from the sea in the presence of the Olympians, just as one saw on the base of the Athena Parthenos the adornment of Pandora taking place in the same company. The birth of Aphrodite is less tragic; it adds the finishing touch to the beauty of the world that Zeus rules over. Graces and hours on the throne's back, itself six feet high, pointed to the order and charm of the universe.

In Ephesus groups made of basalt have been found, sphinxes abducting youths, unusual treatments of the theme which can only be understood as copies of ebony groups on the sides of the throne. Other mythical examples of death and its inscrutable mystery were the friezes of the children of Niobe being killed by Apollo and Artemis. The Apollo frieze is more dramatic and looks like the work of Pheidias himself; the surface here is filled with powerful, organically constructed figures. The other frieze is not so firm in structure and has bigger empty spaces. The forms are more strongly rounded and tenderly animated, but organically less firmly constructed. Buschor is inclined to see the hand of Kolotes here. Characteristic is the difference between the two sisters holding dying brothers and sisters in their arms; Kolotes' Artemis frieze pays more attention to fortuitous, individual details and the spiritual is depicted more lyrically. One feels more of the surrounding landscape and atmosphere; everything is more airy, more tapered, more mobile. The Apollo frieze is full of great figure work, in an uninterrupted wall of fate-laden forms. Apollo is powerful; Artemis more rounded and active. The dying youth looks up at his sister as if at the life he must leave; the two are linked in a strong organic unity, while Kolotes' pair sink down like a mournful sacrifice. In the first frieze all is grandiose and sublime, in the other all is charm and movement; in the first plasticity prevails, in the other one can feel the surrounding world; the first recalls Sophocles, the other Euripides. Thus already Pheidias' closest collaborators no longer understood him completely. The change to the rich style is already beginning. But in both friezes the perfection of the gods is uninterruptedly present in the beauty of their victims.

It is scarcely comprehensible how Pheidias was able to produce a number of highly celebrated bronze statues while the Parthenon was in the process of being built. His bronze Apollo, which stood in front of the Parthenon, seems to be most fully mirrored in the statue at Kassel. The Apollo from the Tiber in the Terme Museum at Rome seems to be the work of a different sculptor, but one closely akin to Pheidias. The statue of the poet Anacreon in Copenhagen may well go back to a work by Pheidias himself; it is one of the few copies of Greek portraits which reproduce more than the head. Pre-eminent among his goddesses was the fifty-foot-high Athena Promachos, a huge bronze statue on the Acropolis, whose shield the original of the famous Medusa Rondanini may later have received as coat of arms. Classicists were less attracted by the still early classical Athena Promachos than by the Athena Lemnia dedicated about 448 by colonists going off to Lemnos; Furtwängler has skillfully fitted the copy of the head at Bologna to a copy of the body in Dresden. Pheidias' most beautiful work was reckoned to be the wounded Amazon, which was displayed at Ephesus alongside similar statues by Polykleitos and Kresilas; copies of all three have come down to us.

We tend to take rather too much for granted the abundance of information about Greek artists that has been handed down to us. We do not know the names of the artists of any other highly developed civilizations - Near East, Far East, early Middle Ages - and relatively few have survived even from the Roman period. Before the Renaissance the Greeks were the only people to be interested in such a thing as the history of art. They were the first to try to understand the individual

FIG. 40

FIG. 39

APPX. PL. 23-25

Polykleitos



FIG. 39 - Artemis kills the children of Niobe. Reconstruction of a frieze on the statue of Zeus at Olympia (by Kolotes). Towards 430 B.C. Cf. p. 133.

characteristics of great personalities. From the seventh century onwards their artists signed their work; the inscriptions reflect the changes in their conceptions of themselves. We hear of treatises on their own work by several masters; for example, Theodoros, who together with Rhoikos built the temple of Hera in Samos during the second quarter of the sixth century, wrote about this temple himself. About 450 Agatharchos, who painted scenery for Aeschylus, wrote a treatise on perspective, and shortly afterwards Polykleitos produced one on the correct proportions embodied in his Doryphoros, a statue itself known as 'the Canon'. On the basis of the signatures and of writings of this sort scholars since Aristotle have reconstructed the history of Greek art. Their conclusions have been handed down to us in part by Pliny and Quintilian. Other writers described the sanctuaries and their votive offerings in *periegeses*; that of Pausanias has been preserved. With this guidance at hand the Romans had the Greek masterpieces copied. In the case of all other civilizations we possess simply what has been found by chance in excavations; but in the case of Greek civilization we possess what noble minds selected from the legacy of the past, in so far as it did not perish later in barbarian times. It is true that the number of works that could conveniently be copied was too small for Roman needs. Variants were therefore created which were supposed to look like classical works and thus falsified the picture of Greek art.

PLATE P. 136

The ancient writers on art name 21 works by Polykleitos, and of these we can identify the Doryphoros, the Amazon and the Diadoumenos, a youth tying a victor's band round his head. Other statues can be ascribed to Polykleitos from their style. Although he belonged to the school of Argos and his works were therefore not so convenient to copy as Attic ones, we know him well because he was highly esteemed and classed with Pheidias and Myron as one of the great masters of the classical heroic style. In 420 he made one of these famous statues of gold and ivory, the cult statue of Hera at Argos. This work and the whole decoration of the Heraeum correspond, as it were, to Pheidias' Parthenon. Just as the east pediment of the Parthenon showed the birth of Athena, so that of the Heraeum showed the birth of Zeus. Hera was enthroned like Pheidias' Zeus and was just as richly adorned with subsidiary sculptures. Her diadem carried graces and hours. In one hand she held a pomegranate and in the other a sceptre. On the

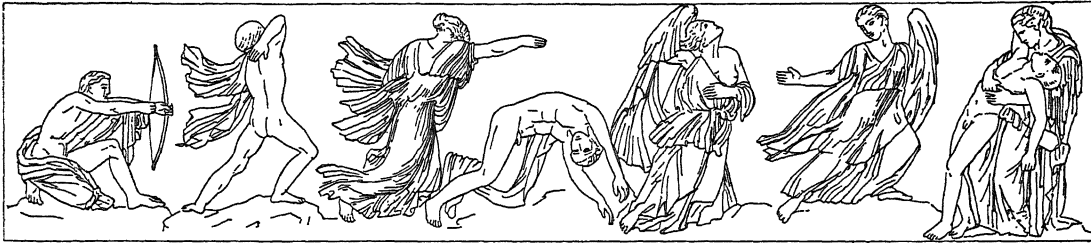


FIG. 40 - *Apollo kills the children of Niobe. Reconstruction of Pheidias' frieze on the statue of Zeus at Olympia. Towards 430 B.C. Cf. p. 133.*

latter perched a cuckoo, for it was in the shape of a cuckoo that Zeus first approached Hera. Beside Hera stood a Hebe made of gold and ivory by Naukydes, a kinsman of Polykleitos.

The Doryphoros shows Achilles carrying the famous lance of Pelion. The over life-size scale suits only a hero or a god, and on a relief from Argos the Doryphoros is leading a horse, as befits a hero. Naked youths with lances, which were erected in *palaestrae*, as models for the competitors, were called *effigies Achilleae*. The invention gives the impression of the fulfilment of an idea that until then had been only dimly conceived; it is like bright day after a dream. Modern bronze casts based on the marble replica in Naples give a somewhat too rigid idea of the bronze original. The leg carrying no weight is free and placed a little behind; only the tip of the foot touches the ground and the whole body is more loosely articulated. This innovation struck the ancient writers on art as the creation of Polykleitos; Pliny calls it *uno crure insistere*. Varro remarks that Polykleitos' works were 'quadrata', that is, squarely and firmly constructed, and resembled each other *paene ad unum exemplum*. Quintilian praises their 'decor' or comeliness; but people missed Pheidias' grandeur in Polykleitos' statues of gods.

Contemporaries were so much struck by 'the Canon' that it was utilized at once and ceaselessly, even as early as the west frieze of the Parthenon; thus it must date from shortly before 442. To us classical works appear all too obvious. One must try to see them as if one were beholding them for the first time, as archetypes which do not exist in the outside world. Thus Leo B. Alberti, the great architect and theoretician of the Quattrocento, describes the Polykleitan standing position as if it were something quite normal that he had observed himself in daily life; yet none of us has ever adopted this attitude except in the attempt to copy a Polykleitan figure. Buschor has put it well: 'Armed only with the glory of his youth, the radiant prince walks through the camp with head erect. The lion-like strength, the untrammelled pride of Achilles is perfectly captured in this statue. . . But in addition he is a man who knows what he is doing; he has preferred an early death in the bloom of youth to an ordinary life. This knowledge bends his head and deepens his gaze, but also makes the young hero's body shine forth in a brighter light, a quiet collected world full of inner agitation; an astringent, tense life, still unbroken by

PLATE P. 136

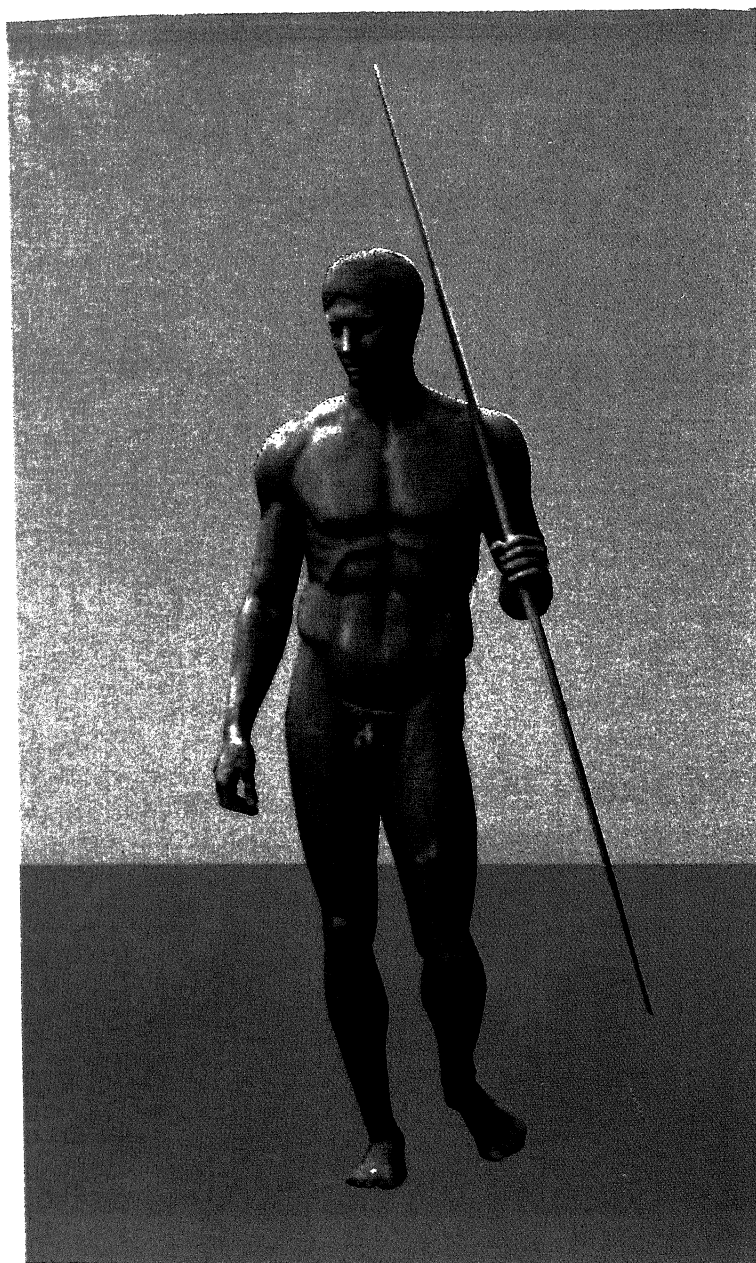


PLATE 32 — Achilles by Polykleitos. Bronze cast of the Roman copy in Naples. The original bronze statue was made soon after 445 B.C. *Height 7 ft. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cf. pp. 134, 135.*

the flood of spiritual currents, a spiritual sphere far above corporeal existence, in which however there is still no dichotomy between body and spirit; knowledge of the great supra-personal law of fate and deep familiarity with it.' Polykleitos produced many different modulations of the canon. He always achieved afresh the clarity and balanced harmony of the figure, even in the firm, indeed angular set of the skull and the carefully symmetrical arrangement of the hair. But the character of the works changes according to subject and time. Enrichment brings in the Apollo (the Diadoumenos, about 420) a swinging, contrasting rhythm of construction.

The themes of oiling, scraping and crowning oneself and of the band that was put round the hair recur again and again in classical art; they are more frequent than subjects from athletics itself, such as throwing the discus. Archaic art had portrayed victors standing quietly, without any attributes. The classical period, through gesture and movement, shows the essential character, the fateful unity of Being. But this is easier to portray in peaceful attitudes than in the contest itself; few succeeded, as Myron did, in his famous Diskobolos, in achieving the apparently impossible. The choice of motifs was further conditioned by the fact that it was in this attitude that the young victor made the deepest impression on the admiring spectators; to this extent the statues are even portraits. In the same way Homer too depicts the heroes in situations in which their essential natures are most completely revealed. The subtle differences between the various works of Polykleitos remind us of the fragments preserved of his treatise on the canon: 'beauty rests, down to a nuance, on the relationships between many numbers.' Although he was the first to formulate clearly the importance of measurable proportions, he was aware that there was also an irrational element in artistic creation. Polykleitos called this elsewhere the hair's breadth by which a work must depart from the canon and which remains the artist's secret. In another place he calls it the *kairos*, the indispensable proportion which must be achieved in order to perfect a work and which cannot be calculated. It is such subtleties as these that not only distinguish the completed work from the calculated design but also lend different nuances to the separate statues even of an artist whose work as a whole is as uniform as that of Polykleitos.

Polykleitos' portraits of perfect manhood have reminded people of Protagoras' doctrine that man was the measure of all things. Plato makes Protagoras expound this doctrine in one of those dialogues which show Socrates conversing with young men of the sort that Polykleitos created in those same years. But the tone of these conversations implies that it is something deeper and divine that constitutes the beauty of these young men and is the measure of all things. The humility of Polykleitos' youths expresses their subordination to something higher, their striving for victory to the honour of the god, their reverent awe of this god, and their ties with the state, which is governed by the gods and bestows the garland for their victories. It is along these lines that Socrates answers Protagoras. In our day the beauty of this time of life is seldom seen; we know only of teen-agers and teen-age behaviour and thus rob ourselves of what in Polykleitan statues was offered to the gods as the most precious gift there was. We should admire not only

PLATE P. 141

classical art but also the consciously shaped life that was its premise and that knew such lofty forms of existence.

Kresilas Crete, where Kresilas' native city of Cydonia lay, did not play a prominent part in the classical period. Kresilas worked in Athens and obviously learnt a good deal there, for the drapery of his Amazon follows the style of Pheidias. We know that there were three works by him on the Acropolis: a dedication to Athena, with which we are not familiar, the portrait of Pericles, and the statue of a wounded man which is praised by Pliny because one could see life dwindling away in it. It is understandable that the Athenians entrusted the portrait of Pericles to such a master of characterization, especially as the Dorian style seemed particularly appropriate for the likeness of a general. Pliny tells us that this Pericles deserved its nickname of 'the Olympian' and goes on to say that the wonderful thing about this art was that it knew how to make noble men still nobler (*nobiles viros nobiliores fecit*). Kresilas' works are distinguished by an astringent, sinewy power, a rhythm in the stance that follows Polykleitos but is more musical. Buschor thought he could also perceive this music in the maidens in the east frieze of the Parthenon and in the running woman on the east pediment.

APPX. PL. 23

There was a tradition that Polykleitos, Pheidias, Kresilas and Phradmon, none of whose other works can be certainly identified, all created an Amazon for the temple of Artemis at Ephesus, and that Polykleitos won the first prize in the competition, Pheidias the second and Kresilas the third. This cannot be quite right, for the three statues preserved in copies do not belong to the same stylistic phase. The Amazon best preserved in the replica in the Capitoline Museum is somewhat older than the Parthenon frieze. Its draperies are rhythmically still less differentiated and do not really cling to the body. The polyhedronal cubic construction is Dorian – the 'quadratic' style of Polykleitos. The motif is known to us already from pictures by Polygnotos and is seen here in its basic and simplest form: the left hand takes the chiton from the right breast, the right holds up the spear. Furtwängler called this head, with the 'unspeakably sad' lines at the corners of the mouth, one of the most splendid of ancient times.

APPX. PL. 24

Pheidias' Amazon is wounded in front at the top of the left thigh. The chiton has been pulled down, so she has stuck an end into her belt, so as to leave the wound bare, and she now leans with both arms on the long spear. The left hand grips the spear high above her head; she keeps her face free because she stands before the goddess as a suppliant seeking protection. The head faced the front, inclined a little towards the wound. It is typical of Pheidias that the fine consistency of the movement is echoed in the drapery: the chiton clings to the body without concealing its structure in an indescribably lifelike manner. One can sense through the marble copy the detail of the bronze in which the work was originally executed. The surface tension is different from the marble work of the Parthenon frieze, with whose later sections the Amazon is probably contemporary. The firm frame of weight-carrying leg and spear emphasizes the grandeur of the work, like the architecture which one must always add in imagination to the Parthenon sculptures.

APPX. PL. 25

The most astringently sinewy of the three Amazons – the Berlin copy is the best – must thus be the one by Kresilas. Here the Polykleitan chiasmus is carried through

in a purer form than in the Amazon ascribed to Polykleitos, but the construction is more delicate and in no other Amazon does the chiton allow so much of the body to be seen. The way in which the drapery clings points to the influence of Pheidias, yet its arrangement, particularly the bunched folds between the legs, has something Dorian about it, and the same is true of the limbs: in place of Polykleitos' broad, full forms we have thin, hard ones, with the bone structure emphasized. The slender legs and flat breasts are less feminine; the face, too, is narrower, with sharply emphasized mouth and chin, and it is comparable with the narrow forms of the statue of Pericles. Kresilas is less concerned with the motif than with the harmony of the rhythms. The wound under the right shoulder is pulled by the movement of the arm, which rests over the head. The leaning motif is taken less seriously, too. But the musical aspect of the harmonious *contrapposto* comes through most clearly in Kresilas' Amazon. The three statues were therefore dedicated consecutively, between 445 and 435.

Since primitive times people had imagined the great goddess – Athene, Artemis, Aphrodite – in arms, for the mistress of life cannot be conceived in too powerful terms. In the retinue of Artemis, who was also a goddess of death, they imagined the army of women. Among many peoples daemons of death are female, but only among the Greeks could the sagas of the battle with the Amazons arise, because they saw in woman the human being rather than the gender. Thus art could dare the impossible and unite masculine strength with feminine charm, outstripping nature herself. The classical period discovered that the Amazons could share in the tragedy of life, in heroic greatness and in blindness to the limits set by the gods. This can only be shown in a woman when she is in an attitude of rest. Even the Penthesilea of the Munich cup is no longer depicted in battle, and the Amazons of Polygnotos and of Ephesus become symbols, in their calmness, not only of female but of human tragedy.

PLATE P. 65

Another sculptor named by Pliny alongside Pheidias and Polykleitos as a pupil of Hageladas is Myron. The significant thing about this intrinsically improbable piece of information is that it shows in what high esteem Myron was held. Lucian names the same artists, together with Praxiteles, as the most famous ones. Myron's birthplace is given as Eleutherai in Cithaeron, that is to say, a village near the frontier with Boeotia. Myron was working for Aegina before 456; those works which can be identified can be dated between 450 and 435. Later than this Myron's style can no longer be clearly recognized, so that these were probably late works and Pliny's statement that he flourished round 420 must be erroneous. Nearer the mark is Pliny's observation that he was a rival of Pythagoras; like those of Pythagoras, Myron's roots lie in early classicism. Because the severe style was less sought after in Roman times we know none of Myron's earlier works.

Myron

Of the works mentioned in the ancient writers six have been preserved in copies: his Diskobolos, Athena and Marsyas, Dionysus, Heracles, Erechtheus and a boxer. The Discus-thrower has been reproduced in numerous marble copies, a bronze statuette (with a Roman portrait head) and on gems. On one gem he is called Hyacinth, the favourite of Apollo. When the two were practising discus-throwing the jealous Zephyr blew Apollo's disc at Hyacinth's head and killed him; but

PLATE P. 141

Hyacinth lived on as a hero who brings help to men on earth. The Discus-thrower first appears on the scene with his left foot advanced, holding the discus in his raised left hand. Then he swings round to the right to gain impetus and transfers the discus to his right hand; now comes the throw proper with one and a half complete turns and the body sinking half-way down on one knee. Thus what is shown is the position before the throw proper; the circling movement to follow is only suggested in the left foot, which skims the ground. On vase-paintings the swing round is indicated in a more lively fashion; Myron has reduced the variety of the movement to one unforgettable basic form, captured it in the relief plane, and thus made visible, as it were, the very law of the movement itself. The movement gives the impression of simplicity and greatness, like the gesture of a god. The torso rises like a strictly formed flower from the hips, as consistent and clear as a crystal, with symmetrically forking forms. The tensions of the severe style are completely overcome.

PLATES PP.
120, 125, 128

Like Pheidias and Polykleitos, Myron found his own way of applying the law of classical harmony. With Pheidias we feel how mind determines everything that happens and all Being; Polykleitos shows us the perfection of the powerful Dorian body. Myron accomplished the apparently impossible and made a law perceptible in a fleeting movement. He thus discovered his own compromise between Being and Time, for Law has the character of Being. In their slender mobility Myron's figures belong completely to Attic art, much as they differ, especially in the countenance, from those of Pheidias. In the face of the Discus-thrower there is the grave earnestness of the palaestra and a simple nobility; indeed, measure is even more strongly emphasized in Myron's work than it is in that of Polykleitos. His characterization is more individual.

FIG. 41

A still richer picture of Myron's art is provided by the celebrated bronze votive gift on the Acropolis, the group consisting of Athena and Marsyas. According to old tradition it was the Phrygian forest daemon Marsyas who invented the flute. In Athens a different version of the myth was current, according to which Athena had been the inventor but had thrown the pipes away again as unworthy of her. Marsyas had found them and then dared to compete on them with Apollo. The saga reflects the contrast between the Greek and the oriental conceptions of music: among the Greeks vocal music – sung poetry – predominated, in the East instrumental music. Marsyas comes with a tripping step, enraptured by the new sound, to pick up the pipes. The goddess steps half a pace back and probably had her left fist angrily clenched, while in her right hand she held her spear, but not erect, as if to strike Marsyas. Her glance strikes the Satyr, who starts back in fright, raises his right hand in amazement and holds his left hand back and away to one side, as if he meant to flee at once. Here, too, Myron's special contribution to the classical style lies in elevating the moment into the eternal by discovering basic forms of movement and balancing their forces in a legitimate compromise. Thus the goddess's stiffly held down left arm, which accompanies her glance, corresponds to the weight-carrying leg, and the moving free leg corresponds to the moving right arm. In the almost symmetrical draping of the front of the figure with the broad middle section of cloth the quiet centre of the movement is symbolized. But the



PLATE 33 — Bronze statuette, 2nd century A.D. Reproduction based on Myron's Discus-thrower, which itself was created shortly after 450 B.C. *Munich. Height 12 in. Cf. p. 139.*

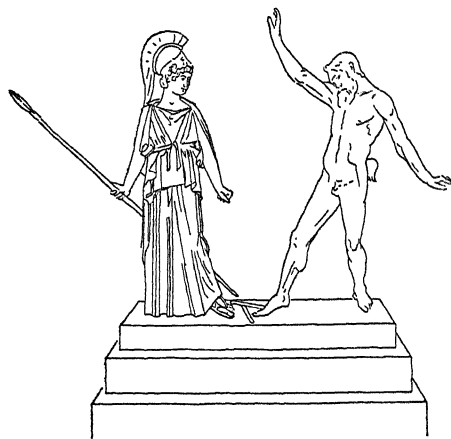


FIG. 41 - *Reconstruction of Myron's Athena and Marsyas, after H. Bulle. Towards 440 B.C. Height of Athena 5 ft. 9 in. Cf. p. 140.*

movements and characters of the goddess and the Satyr are also in equilibrium, and so are the male and female elements, impulse and measure. The opposite poles cannot be separated. In the dancer's charm of the forest spirit there is something of the goddess, and in her superiority and stubbornness there is something of his strength. The movements of the two figures are completely attuned to each other, yet each remains a free being with an individual destiny.

FIG. 4 All archaic and classical groups are characterized by a relief-like structure of the sort we met in the Tyrant-slayers. There, in the manner of the severe style, necessity was emphasized in the structure of the axes; here a perfect equilibrium of Being and Time has been found, for the laws of movement have the effect of a timeless element. And although the group extends over the relief plane the composition is the most plastic and linear that can be imagined; it is held together entirely by the figures, not in the slightest by the common surface; in no respect is it pictorial. The sculptor knew Pheidias' Athena Parthenos and has responded to this marvel in his own way; he makes the goddess still more maidenly, still more homely, without her aegis, and causes us to feel precisely this extreme simplicity and perfect grace as the divine secret of human existence. Before the group was known, no one could have dreamed that the sculptor of the Discus-thrower was capable of such fine, delicate characterization. Moreover, the Frankfurt Athena is one of the best copies we possess, a really divine statue such as one seldom finds. It is amazing that such good copies can be produced and that this work stands up so well in comparison with classical originals. While most copies are spoilt by modern cleaning and restoration, indeed by too much touching up, this one is intact, with its warm yellowish surface and, what is unfortunately very rare, undamaged countenance. For the body the copyist used Pentelic marble, and for the head Parian.

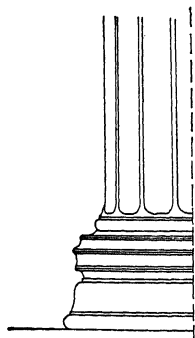


FIG. 42 - *Base of a column in the Porch of the Athenians, Delphi. 478 B.C.*

Different as the characters of the goddess and the athlete are, it is quite apparent that they are the work of the same artist, especially in the outline of nose, mouth and chin and in the plain, astringent force of the delineation. The goddess's face is narrow, with close-set eyes, delicate nose, soft cheeks and a small mouth; the lower lip is pushed out a little. The slightest movement is sufficient to convey the impression of triumphant superiority. Marsyas is neater than the Satyrs of older art, with a slender, rounded body and the tautness and tension of an animal. The head has an amazingly high, furrowed brow and does not give the impression of restricted intellect and coarse strength that many of the Centaurs' heads in the Parthenon metopes do; on the other hand it does not possess the grandeur of the Centaur in the first of these metopes. The nose is short and broad, and the mouth almost disappears in the shaggy beard; the artist has indicated at the same time both the barbaric element and the genius in this ancestor of all absolute music, which is the enemy of poetry. We know that this Marsyas was a match for Apollo and that he trained a pupil, Olympos. It should also be borne in mind that this is the oldest large-scale statue we know of a Silenus, and that when, at some time after 380, Silanion created the first portrait of Socrates and made him like a Silenus, he had Myron's Marsyas in mind.

PLATE P. 128

Myron's cow has so far not been discovered, although no fewer than 38 ancient epigrams praise its truth to life; so does an essay of Goethe's which contains the profoundest observations ever made on Greek art: 'It is the idea and aim of the Greeks to turn men into gods, not gods into men. What we have here is theomorphism, not anthropomorphism; moreover, it is not the animal in man that is to be ennobled, but the human element in the animal that is to be emphasized. . . Perhaps it is by this path that we arrive soonest at the high philosophical goal of perceiving that the divinely quickening element in man is linked in the most innocent fashion with the animal element that is quickened.' Pliny preserves a description of Myron's work by the early Hellenistic art historian Xenocrates. What was striking about his subjects, says Xenocrates, was their variety, as opposed to the similarity which bound together all the figures of Polykleitos. Another important aspect of his work was the refinement of the *symmetria*, the proportions. Furthermore, he paid more attention to the physical appearance than to the spiritual factors behind it; nevertheless he caught incomparably in bronze the animated life of both man and animal.

These observations can be better understood if we compare Pheidias. Pheidias sees the mystery of life in a more Olympian fashion; he gives all his works something of the youth and nobility of the gods. Myron gives all his the gestures of the gods, the simple, clear, basic forms of movement. Pheidias is classical in his sanctification of existence, Myron in his deep insight into the laws that govern life in movement. No other sculptor equalled him in reducing all the phenomena of motion to their basic forms; and his statues ranged from animals and the wild creature Marsyas to athletes and the aristocratic heroes Perseus and Heracles, indeed even the divine grace of Athena. Moreover, we do not even know his statues of Zeus, Apollo and Hecate. Pheidias was the artistic progenitor of Kephisodotos and Praxiteles, Myron of Skopas and Lysippos. It is no wonder that

PLATE P. 120

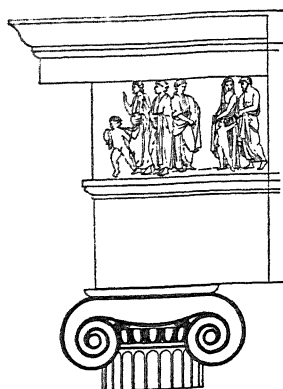


FIG. 43 – *Entablature of the temple on the Ilissus.*
About 440 B.C.

*Attic buildings of the
Parthenon period*
PLATE P. 167
FIGS. 42, 60

FIG. 44

FIG. 43

APPX. PL.
29, 35, 41, 42

the Athenian Myron received commissions all over the Greek world, from Ephesus and Samos to Messana and Acragas in Sicily.

No other Greek landscape and no other period has left us such a large number of contemporaneous monuments as Attica in the time of Pericles. The temple of Nike seems to have been begun as early as 449; it was not completed until the time of the Peace of Nicias, after 421. The bases of its columns still have the two-tier Ionic form, not the three-tier Attic one. The unusual interruption in the erection of the building is explained by the opposition between Pericles and the conservative party, which had decided to build the Nike temple. The architect, Kallikrates, seems to have used the same design when he built the so-called temple on the Ilissus. Here the simple form of the antae temple is extended like a baldachin by open porches in front of both façades; the Ionic division of the building is thus given a classical modulation. The unity of the building is enhanced by the prolongation of the interior space from outer to inner porch and on to the cella. The temple on the Ilissus is the oldest Ionic temple with a frieze that has been preserved; the frieze consists of widely separated figures running round the whole in a band and thus assisting the classical unity of the temple proper. It showed the Pelasgians abducting Attic women at the feast of the lesser Mysteries; the style is influenced by that of the Parthenon frieze but is amazingly different from it. The organic unity of the classical style, which is taken for granted in the Parthenon frieze, is not yet attained, and we are still far from the illusionism of the rich style, with its violent impressions, whirling folds and forms, wide-stretched compositions and suggestions of spatial depth. Thus although the work looks conservative in comparison with the Parthenon frieze and suggests an older sculptor more interested in painting, when it was still complete and painted in its original colours it must have produced an impression of mysterious grandeur. The cowardly crime committed by the barbarians against defenceless women must have made an effective contrast with the quiet foreboding of the pilgrims and with the victory due to the godhead; it was very much in the spirit of all mysteries – the path through trial and suffering to redemption.

Sunium

Among the Doric temples of the Parthenon period the temple of Poseidon on Cape

Sunium is the oldest, to judge from the style of the frieze. Deeds of Theseus, a battle against Centaurs and a Gigantomachy can still be recognized. From the pediments only a seated woman has been preserved. The peplos open at the side with the interplay of body and drapery is known to us from Paros; Ionian, too, is the pleasure in the accidental aspects of the play of the drapery. Attic art seeks the norm in the interplay of body and drapery. The architecture, too, of the temple of Poseidon is the product of a workshop in the Ionian islands, probably Paros. A temple was already being built on Sunium when the Persians destroyed the Attic sanctuaries in 480, and the plans were so classical in spirit that when the temple was rebuilt after 450 the ground-plan of the colonnade could be retained almost unchanged. For the first time all the intervals between the columns are equal, and the proportions of the stylobate approximate to those of the Parthenon — 4 : 9, which here means 6 : 13 columns. The old building had been begun in conglomerate; the new one was executed in unusually white marble, which is available nearby. The columns are so slender that one almost feels that one is looking at an Ionic building; elsewhere this slenderness was not attained or surpassed until the fourth century. Other Ionic features are the alternation of tall and low layers of blocks and the tall palmettes of the akroteria. The slenderness of the columns was balanced by giving them only 16 flutings instead of 20.

The man in charge of these Ionian masons at Sunium must have been an Athenian, the architect of the Hephaesteum. The pronaos or porch is extended to a length of the intervals between two columns, as it is in the Hephaesteum, and the frieze is led round from the front of the cella to the colonnade; indeed, in contrast to the Hephaesteum it is taken round the whole of the pronaos. The exterior decoration thus becomes interior decoration, an idea which was developed with genius by Iktinos in the temple at Bassae. This new kind of ante-room must have impressed the pilgrim making for the cult statue in the same way as the Ionic porch of the Propylaea. At the other end of the temple the opisthodomos is also given a solemn tension by moving back the fronts of the antae so that they are in line with the axis of the third column of the colonnade; in the standard temple they reach to the middle of the second intercolumnation. The effect of the expressive extension of the ante-room was still further enhanced inside the cella by the complete absence here of any supports for the ceiling. The articulation of this space must have been effected simply by matching the colours to the statuary. All this charm and refinement can only be understood by reference to the sublimity of Pheidias' portraits of the gods.

More or less contemporary with the temple on Sunium is that of Hephaestus and Athena on a hill at the western edge of the market-place of Athens. This building, the best-preserved Greek temple we have, was for long taken to be the sanctuary of Theseus, Cimon's famous building with the frescoes by Polygnotos. But the American excavations have uncovered the royal portico in the market-place, and

FIG. 45

PLATE ON SLIP-CASE

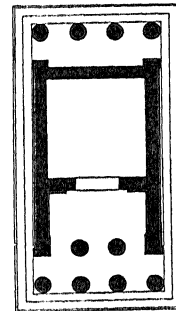
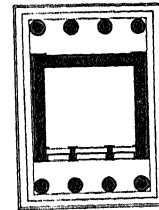


FIG. 44 - Ground-plan of the temple of Nike (above) and of the temple on the Ilissus (below). About 440-430 B.C.

Hephaesteum

Pausanias says that the Hephaesteum lay above the royal portico. The identification is supported by the neighbouring workshops of smiths and bronze-casters, for Hephaestus was their patron.

The Hephaesteum was clearly modelled on the Parthenon, but it also shows how difficult it was to follow this model. Many of the differences may be explained by conscious discretion. The whole building could be fitted into the cella of the Parthenon. The lower part of the base consists of limestone instead of marble. In ground-plan and elevation the 4 : 9 proportions of the Parthenon are imitated, if we start from the lower marble step, not the stylobate. In other words, the proportions do not apply to the whole building; they are, as it were, 'drawn in the air' (Gruben). This may be connected with the tendency towards the Ionic interpretation of the peristasis (surrounding colonnade), whose baldachin-like character is also reflected in the fact that the columns are more slender and placed further apart than those of the Parthenon. Since the ground-plan, unlike that of the Parthenon, follows the canonical Doric one, the wide intervals between the columns make the ante-rooms (the pronaos and the opisthodomos) longer; on the east side this effect is heightened by the fact that, as at Sunium, the front of the cella is parallel with the axis of the third column of the peristyle. The east ante-room is given further emphasis by the fact that it is decorated on the outside by metopes carved in relief and on the inside by the frieze over the front of the cella. The idea of a cella frieze, which comes from the Parthenon, has been considerably modified. Inside, the colonnade surrounding the cult statues on three sides was taken over from the Parthenon when the construction of the cella was already far advanced. In view of the smallness of the space the effect was bound to be quite different, especially as there were two cult statues: compression and overlapping of the columns by the statues instead of the stressing of the space round the Athena Parthenos; in other words, the sort of effect one gets with the rich style. And in fact, if the fragments of the building accounts have been correctly interpreted, the statues were not installed until 421/416. The execution of the masonry work is no less fine than in the Parthenon; curvatures can be observed right up to the entablature; the columns have a slight entasis and are inclined $1\frac{8}{10}$ inches inward. Such care suggests that what at first appears as weakness in the Hephaesteum as compared with the Parthenon is in fact to be explained as the conscious intention of a different artist. We are told that Alkamenes was responsible for the statue of Hephaestus and we may assume that he also made the other cult statue, that of Athene. Probably this important pupil of Pheidias exercised the same supervision over the building as a whole that Pheidias exercised over the Parthenon.

The almost totally destroyed temple of Ares was, as the fragments show, a twin of the Hephaesteum. Augustus had it re-erected in the market-place of Athens, as masons' marks and finds of pottery show, together with an altar on the same axis. H. Thompson made the brilliant guess that both stood originally at Acharnai, the

PLATE P. 120

FIG. 33

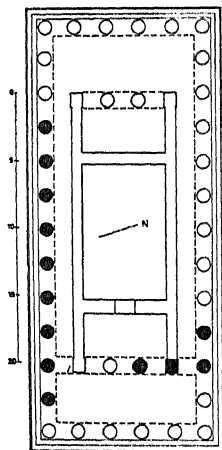


FIG. 45 - Plan of the temple of Poseidon at Sunium. Towards 440 B.C. Cf. p. 145.

present-day Menidi, at the foot of Parnes. Inscriptions prove that there was a sanctuary of Ares and Athena there, which in the second half of the fourth century was equipped with a big altar. Aristophanes and other writers depict the people of Acharnai as particularly warlike. However, Pausanias does not speak of any sanctuary of Ares at Acharnai. This is best explained by the assumption that in the meanwhile it had been moved to Athens, like the Ionic temple of Athena at Sunium and a Doric temple at Thorikos, which were also re-erected in the market-place of Athens — a remarkable and moving example of attention to ancient monuments in a ravaged and impoverished country.

The fourth temple of the same general character as the temple of Poseidon, the Hephaesteum and the temple of Ares is that of Nemesis at Rhamnus. Its ruins are well preserved, indeed fragments of the cult statue and of its base have been found; the statue was by Agorakritos. To judge by the architecture, the temple was erected before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War; but the style of the fragments of its base lead to the conclusion that the cult statue was not put up until about 420. Steps, columns and walls are still in rough state because the work was interrupted by the war. As in the Hephaesteum and at Sunium, the entablature of the cella front is carried over to the peristyle; unfortunately no frieze has been preserved here. Other features betray the influence of the Parthenon. The columns stand on the plinth joints because the stylobate is felt, in the classical fashion, as an integral part of the whole. The inner architrave has Doric forms, as in the Parthenon, not Ionic ones, as at Sunium and in the Hephaesteum. As in the latter, the lower step consists of a different material, in this case the lovely blue marble of which the foundations consist and which there is broken up; obviously colour effects were deliberately sought. The short proportions are curious: the temple has only 12 columns on the long sides instead of 13. In the cella there were apparently no columns; the increase in space corresponded more or less to that at Sunium, but it was confined to the front.

So far as the other buildings of Periclean Athens are concerned, we know nothing about the Lyceum and are familiar only with the ground-plan of the Odeon, which Pericles built about 445 alongside the theatre of Dionysus. However, Pausanias tells us that its architecture was inspired by the big Persian tent that the Greeks had captured at the battle of Plataea. The roof of the Odeon was supported by several rows of columns, like that of the Hall of Initiation at Eleusis, the most grandiose building of the Periclean age apart from the Parthenon. This type of building, the hall with several rows of internal supports and a portico, is found as early as the second millennium B.C. among the Hittites and later in the Urartian region. The kinship with tent architecture seems always to have been felt. The emotional content of this kinship finds clearest expression in the form of the baldachin; big tent and baldachin are royal symbols. Some assistance in imagining the effect of the interior of the Telesterion is provided by the better preserved remains of Mnesikles' Propylaea.

This brilliant building embraces with its wide-flung wings the west end of the rock citadel and thus interprets the whole hill as architecture. The landscape is not made subordinate to human planning, as in Roman architecture; the artist simply

Temple of Nemesis

FIG. 56

Odeon

FIG. 46

Propylaea

FIG. 9

provides an answer to its divine nature. For this he needed exceptional dimensions. The façade of the Propylaea has six columns like a peristyle temple, but exceeds in width all Attic temples except the Parthenon. The front gleams forth between the two wings, which give a more closed-up impression, like the gateway to a higher world. The work was begun in 438 and interrupted by the Peloponnesian War; the roughnesses in the stylobate and walls have not been fully worked. In Nicias' time it was decided not to proceed with the wing buildings on the rocky south side, among other reasons because people no longer dared to build over the venerable Mycenaean citadel walls. However, the wing buildings on the north or valley side were partly erected; their façades, three Doric columns between antae, make a symmetrical frame for the front of the Propylaea. The result looks like an anticipation of Roman axial planning. In the Latin West, planning starts with a comprehensive concept to which all elements are subordinated, but in the Propylaea independent architectural units are linked together organically like the limbs of a body. As in the Parthenon, we find a thorough-going system of proportions. All sections of the west wings are in the proportion of 2 : 3 to the main building. Tensions arise between the larger and smaller Doric orders and their ante-rooms, in which the activity of the ascent is artistically collected, all the more so as the central intercolumnation of the Propylaea is even wider than the others to let the festive procession pass through more comfortably. There is no sculptural decoration; the whole building is adjusted to the living picture of the procession. This also makes it stand out against the majesty of the Parthenon, the façade of which is a fifth wider again. Here are expressed gradations in religious significance which are also felt in the succession of spaces in the Propylaea.

These intervening spaces, to which we have constantly had occasion to refer, possessed a different artistic function from the wide covered spaces of the Latin West. One senses this even in the plastically modelled porch of the Propylaea and the impression becomes much stronger when one enters the interior. There was a difference of level to be overcome between the outer and inner fronts.

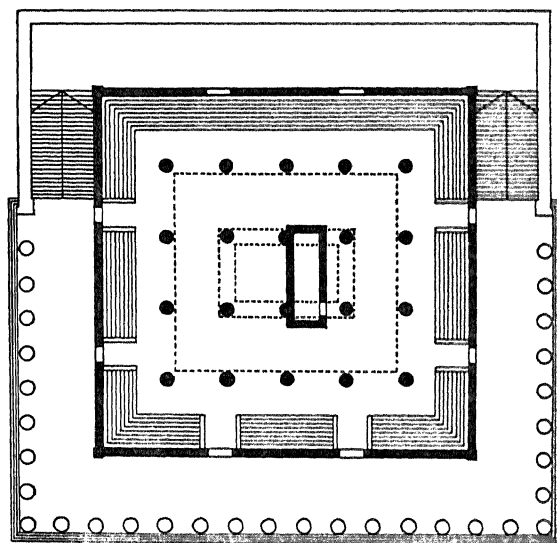
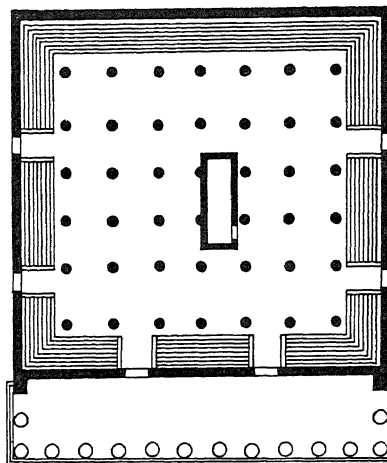


FIG. 46 - Hall of Initiation at Eleusis. Iktinos' ground-plan. About 440 B.C. Cf. p. 147.

FIG. 47 – *Hall of Initiation at Eleusis. Plan of the building actually erected. 4th century B.C. Cf. p. 150.*



The ceiling of the interior is supported by two rows of Ionic columns, because in spite of a smaller diameter at the bottom these are taller than Doric ones. We thus find three aisles instead of the five which the façade led us to expect, and a space running lengthways instead of across like the façade. The aisles are spanned by marble beams 21 feet long, the longest in existence. The result is a space that allows those who enter to breathe more freely and prepares them for the wonders of the sanctuary, for the purpose of visiting a sanctuary was to achieve spiritual transformation and renewal.

In accordance with Ionic usage the marble beams are finely moulded. They lie over the Doric outer architrave on the level of the triglyph. In the blue coffers of the ceiling glowed golden stars and flowers. The capitals of the columns in their controlled elastic power and fullness, are the greatest Ionic ones known to us. In them is concentrated the plastic life of the building, which is completely devoid of reliefs, and they draw one's gaze upward. To reach the opposite wall, with its five openings, one mounts five steps, the topmost one of which consists of bluish-grey Eleusinian marble, like the orthostates of the whole space. The effect of these colours is to lift one up, as it were, to the east porch, which is not very deep and immediately provides the most splendid view of the sanctuary. In antiquity one's glance was riveted not only by the Parthenon but also – and even more – by the gleaming gold statue of Athena Promachos which stood opposite the Propylaea. It is astonishing how the visitor is led here through a series of spaces and what unity the various elements assume. The Doric columns seem to loosen up and stretch through the proximity of the Ionic ones, while the latter, on the other hand, are stiffened and strengthened by the Doric striving for form. Here for the first time there is a fine entasis. The baldachin-like character of the porch was perhaps directly inspired by Persian palaces, but it has been given a new logic and clarity. The use of dark limestone alongside white marble is also reminiscent of the palaces of the Achaemenidae.

We can see Mnesikles' Propylaea for ourselves; Iktinos' Hall of Initiation at Eleusis has to be visualized from the ground-plan. But the effort is worth making, for it was to be the biggest covered area in the Greek world. It was about 170 feet

*Telesterion at
Eleusis*

FIG. 46

FIG. 47

square, so that the dome of the Pantheon or St. Peter's – each 140 feet in diameter – could have easily been inscribed in it. Unfortunately it was not built entirely in accordance with Iktinos' design: he wanted the roof to be carried by 20 columns, in four rows of five, while those who completed the building actually used 42 – six rows of seven. Furthermore, he wanted to put a colonnade round three sides of the building, but in fact only a porch with twelve columns was erected in 330/310. Here the combination of white and dark stone was employed to much greater effect: the walls consisted of the bluish-grey Eleusinian marble, while the portico is of radiant Pentelic marble.

In Cimon's time work had begun on a Hall of Initiation which was to be as big as that of Iktinos, but its roof was to be supported by a labyrinthine forest of 49 columns – seven rows of seven – with a network of wooden architraves. Iktinos confined himself to four rows of five columns and joined them up with two architraves into two peristyles. In the middle was a skylight, through which at certain moments in the ceremony bright daylight could be admitted. Eight steps for spectators ran round the hall and there were two doors on each side, so that it was really a peculiar kind of centralized building of mathematical clarity of design. The larger number of columns in the latitudinal dimension corresponds to the direction of the main façade and forms a subtle tension with the centralized character of the design as a whole. Here, too, the plastic character of all the elements – one has only to look at the base of a column or one of the orthostates – was so strong that the space had no value in itself but could only be understood as an extended ante-room of mysterious, expressive power. But certainly the spatial tensions, which we have found in one form or another in all ripe classical buildings, were here most powerfully intensified, in a way worthy of the noblest mysteries there have ever been. There was room for 4000 people to stand on the steps alone.

Prospect

Pheidias had two important pupils, Alkamenes and Agorakritos, who are best known to us from their work in the rich style, and who will therefore be discussed in the third section of this book. Outside Athens only the school of Polykleitos, Paros and some cities in Magna Graecia (discussed in the first section) remain artistically fruitful. But in these regions the artistic achievements of classical Athens only exert their effect in the rich style. Pheidias enjoyed such intellectual pre-eminence that few could follow him completely, even at Athens. There is also a political factor to be taken into account. Up to the Peloponnesian War Athens had attracted all artistic talent to herself, but during the war there were no tasks to be carried out there, and so we find outstanding sculptors like Euainetos and Kimon engaged in cutting coin dies in Sicily, others working on the temple of Apollo at Phigalia in Arcadia, and others again active across the sea at Xanthos and Gjölbashi in Lycia. The importance of ripe classical embossing can be inferred from the cast of a lost bronze cheek-piece on which the leaning Aphrodite of Alkamenes is brought to life in a way that the statue itself can have hardly equalled. The original of the grandiose Medusa Rondanini must have been produced about 435, and the same is true of the oldest of the reliefs in rare metals from the graves of South Russian princes (Solocho). About this time, too, the proud series of Attic grave reliefs begins again; it had been interrupted since Cleisthenes' sumptuary law.

FIGS. 61–66

APPX. PL.

34, 35, 41, 42

APPX. PL. 39

III. THE RICH STYLE

The chronology of the mature classical style could be deduced from that of the Parthenon. From 420 to the early part of the third century we can refer to the dated reliefs carved above Athenian official inscriptions. These reliefs may be compared with the picture – of the author, in many cases – which was sometimes used as an introduction to a book roll, a practice followed until comparatively recent times in the Far East. Probably the oldest of these reliefs is the one over a resolution by the Athenian people to build a bridge for the sacred road between Eleusis and Athens. On the left are the goddesses of Eleusis, Demeter and her daughter Persephone, the latter holding the torches with which she lights up the underworld; then comes a hero, stretching out his hand to Athena, with whom he is freshly linked by the bridge. What strikes us in this modest work, as compared with the Parthenon frieze, is the frontal view of the women and the richer rhythm of their construction, which unfolds in simple contrasts between the leg carrying the weight and the one that does not, indeed between the upper and lower parts of the body, and permeates the whole composition. We meet these contrasting rhythms again in the maidens of the Erechtheum, which according to the building inscriptions was begun in the years of peace between 421 and 414 and finished from 409 to 406. We meet them too in Paionios' Goddess of Victory, which dates from about 420, and on the Orpheus relief; they indicate the arrival of the 'rich' style.

Above an inscription set up by the treasurers of Athena in 409 Athena and a hero appear on each side of the sacred olive-tree, and they are given an amazingly fresh treatment: the rhythm of the two bodies is unified and the flowing draperies are almost transparent. Hitherto the body had reigned supreme; now the stream of life is more powerful than any individual element. This attitude found its most magnificent expression in Euripides' *Bacchae*. Transcendence is symbolized in the delicately branching tree: the surrounding world of plastic form is seen together with the figures in pictorial fashion, while in the works dating from about 420 the only pictorial elements had been the use of colours and the multiplicity of the rhythms. This is the most important characteristic of the rich style: the pictorial approach, which enjoys the optical qualities in the relationship between body and drapery, eliminates all heaviness by the rhythmic use of curves and always sees first of all the whole area of the picture, not the autonomy of the figure, as the mature classical style did. This attitude can be compared with Alcibiades' bold political projects, the dreamily idyllic pictures of the land of the gods and nymphs in Euripides, and Cloud-cuckoo-land and other magical fantasies in the comedies of Aristophanes. The best examples of this style in large-scale sculpture are the reliefs on the balustrade of the Nike temple, which were probably also executed in the time of Alcibiades' victories after 410, and the later parts, especially the friezes, of the Erechtheum, which inscriptions assign to this period.

BASES OF
CHRONOLOGY

APPX. PL. 30

APPX. PL. 37
PLATE P. 173
FIGS. 61, 52

APPX. PL. 31

FIGS. 57-59

PLATE P. 171

FIG. 61

APPX. PL. 32

APPX. PL. 33

There have been attempts to put the Nike balustrade earlier, in the time of the Peace of Nicias, but it must be pointed out that the change in style on the 'inscription' reliefs corresponds with the one on grave reliefs and in vase-painting. Grave reliefs like the one of Ampharete and Hegeso can no more be dated before 410 than the balustrade of the Nike temple. The wonderful lightness of the goddesses of victory is also typical of the Erechtheum frieze and the figures of the Meidias painter, which are borne along like down before the wind. That an extreme is reached here can be seen if we compare Paionios' Goddess of Victory from about 420. His Nike is still heavier than air, while the Nikai of the balustrade are, as it were, lighter than air. Paionios still gives the floating body a heaviness and powerfulness that contrast with the swelling cloak. The chiton clings to the body and models it, but the two are clearly distinct, while in the Nike balustrade they coalesce in a pictorial fashion.

The sober mood that followed the end of the Peloponnesian War and the attempts to find support in the great past are reflected in some reliefs over inscriptions. A treaty of 403/2 between Athens and Samos shows the goddesses Hera and Athena joined by a hand-clasp. The Attic sculptor has further distinguished Athena from Hera, who proudly holds the sceptre, by her weapons and the olive-tree against which the shield leans. What in the period of the Parthenon period was simple, sublime reality now becomes ancestral tradition revived in solemn speeches, albeit with aristocratic seriousness. Floating draperies, tree and shield incorporate the surrounding area in the composition, but the airy lightness of the Alcibiades period has gone. It is the severe, vertical folds and the perpendiculars of spear and tree that dominate the composition rather than the movements of the limbs, which simply form a contrast. We are no longer confronted with the interplay of physical forces among themselves; movement is forced into the mould of a supra-physical order. Just as conquered Athens sought new strength in the example of her ancestors, and used, for example, the tyrannicides as an emblem for the shield of Athena in portraits of the goddess, so artists modelled their work on the style of the Parthenon frieze.

But the reaction was swiftly mastered; art was rejuvenated and in the midst of the rich style discovered the seeds of a new classicism which was to blossom in the late classical style. On the relief of 398 a dignified man, probably the hero of the treasury as on the relief of 409, gives the goddess his right hand and lays his left hand thoughtfully on his chin, conscious of his lofty responsibility. This is an original trait of this careful work, which befits the new mental attitude. The goddess, rather like Pheidias' Athena Parthenos, steps lightly forward, not in luminous harmony as on the relief of 409, but as a majestic apparition belonging to this particular moment alone. The tendency of the rich style to the marvellous and momentary is pressed into the service of a more intense approach.

This corresponds to the formal transformation of the rich style. The pictorial

PLATE 34 - White-ground lekythos by the Reed painter. 420-410 B.C. *Vienna. Height 1 ft. 8 1/2 in. Cf. p. 154.*



element in the composition remains, with its interweaving of the individual details in the organization of the surface as a whole and the supple treatment of the drapery, but it is made to serve a modelling full of nuances which makes bodies appear more fully in space. The conception of space remains illusionistic and there is no plastic depth as there is in the late classical style, but we are at the beginning of a road that leads to the dignity of the figure achieved by the late classical style.

APPX. PL. 40

The tomb relief of Dexileos, who fell before the gates of Corinth in 394, can only be understood in this way. The rearing horse and the warriors with their snatching gestures demand comparison with the now classic art of the Parthenon. They are particularly reminiscent of a relief with a similar subject in the Villa Albani at Rome, which was probably erected soon after the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War as a monument for those who fell before the Dipylon. There the shallower relief is filled with the powerful confrontation of the warriors; here the almost free-standing figures stand out from the background in such a way that the illusion of space increases the pathos. Powerful reality has turned into rhetoric. The splendid swing of the curves with their parallels and consonances is reminiscent of Agathon's speech in Plato's *Symposium*, but the turns and foreshortenings, especially those in the naked bodies, reflect a plasticity which was quickly to lead artists beyond the rich style and came to be felt for thousands of years as the truly classical style.

PAINTING

In the Parthenon period outlines and inner forms were picked out like reliefs and given what Wölfflin calls a 'plastic-linear' treatment. On the Nike balustrade, on the other hand, shallow contours embrace richly differentiated coloured areas; details are seen so pictorially in the context of the whole picture that a certain illusion of space arises. The best idea of contemporary large-scale painting is to be gained from the friezes of Gjölbaschi and white-ground lekythoi by the Reed painter, with the dead man sitting in front of his stele. It is amazing what an illusion of depth and protruding forms the painter succeeds in achieving without breaking, as it were, the surface of the picture. The illusion is not based on the plastic articulation. If one traces this out, the figure seems shallow, with the left upper thigh and the bent arm too short. But if one yields to the magic of the line one can understand why the great Parrhasios was famed at this time for the magic of his draughtsmanship, which was able to give the impression of foreshortening with the most sparing of means. The outline does not articulate the figure but neutralizes the background; and the latter is robbed of its tectonic character and subordinated to the illusion of space. On vases the change from the richer rhythm round 420 to the weightless one after 410 can be clearly traced; from the chief works of the Eretria painter, for example, among which is numbered the Basle oinochoe, to those of the Meidias painter. The large surface of this oinochoe is alive with daemoniac wonder at the enchanted world of the wine-god. On the big ivy-covered rock the Maenad sits lightly, holding a twig of ivy and a long thyrsus, and gazing with a superior look, ready to defend herself, at the Satyr standing bent before her as if rooted to the spot. In a mixture of desire and fear he has his hands pressed between his knees, and he lets his tail hang down. Such individual psychological studies do not occur until the time of the rich style.

APPX. 41, 42

PLATE P. 152

PLATE P. 156

FIG. 49



FIG. 48 — *Theseus at the bottom of the sea. Calyx crater by the Kadmos painter. Bologna. About 420 B.C. Cf. below.*

The calyx crater by the Kadmos painter is based on a lost picture which modified Polygnotos' *Theseus at the Bottom of the Sea*, in the Theseum, to suit the taste of the rich style. The driver of the four-horse team can only be the sun-god, framing events in the manner of Pheidias, even though the Kadmos painter makes everything gentle and pleasing — the Triton in festal robe, Amphitrite and her nicely behaved daughters, and Poseidon, the proud father, comfortably reclining on a couch. Eros' difficulty with the heavy amphora from which he is pouring wine into the mixing-bowl is a detail appropriate to the 'rich style', but the big wings in the original painting probably did not have such a frayed look.

Vases as important as those of the Reed painter are now rare; it is not until the late classical period that Attic vase-painting acquires a new impetus. On the other hand, after the foundation of the Athenian colony of Thurii (444) an abundance of vases was produced in Lucania (the home of the painter Zeuxis), Campania and above all Apulia, where individual painters distinguished themselves by giving strong expression to the spiritual element and the colours of large-scale painting were more freely imitated. In the fourth century production in this region was more abundant than at Athens and in the depiction of scenes from tragedy often more interesting.

The ancient historians of art took the view that the rich style marked the beginning of the best years of painting, whose zenith they placed in the age of Alexander. Pliny says that Apollodoros was the first to give the painter's brush real fame; before him there had been no panel picture which riveted the eye. He was famed

FIG. 48

PLATE P. 191



FIG. 49 - In the margin: *Silenus on the oinochoe by the Eretria painter illustrated on p. 156.*
Cf. p. 154.

for a picture of Ajax struck by lightning on a cliff on the way home from Troy. Such a subject had only been possible since artists had been able to observe alterations in local colours due to the light and to give their pictures stronger and weaker, uniform and varied illumination.

Zeuxis of Heraclea in southern Italy and Parrhasios of Ephesus were the most celebrated masters of the new artistic methods. They walked about Athens self-confident and rejoicing in the life of the senses, Parrhasios in purple and gold, for he called himself the Prince of Art; he maintained that he was descended from Apollo and had painted Heracles as he had often seen him in his sleep. He is supposed to have introduced symmetry into painting, that is, the rhythmical gradation of the various elements which lends the picture harmonious unity. He gave the face delicacy of expression, the mouth a gentle charm and the hair elegance. His contours seemed to suggest something else behind them; and to betray what is hidden is precisely the kind of spatial illusion which we have observed. In a conversation with Parrhasios Socrates is said to have drawn his attention to the fact that he depicted not only the appearance but also the inner nature expressed in glance, attitude and movement. A similar phenomenon is to be observed on the relief of 398 and the oinochoe of the Eretria painter. The subjects of some of his pictures are significant. For example, Parrhasios painted Odysseus simulating madness to avoid having to take part in the expedition to Troy; Philoctetes in pain; an athlete running so that he seemed to sweat; and the Demos, the personification of the Athenian people, in such a way that it seemed to reflect all the Attic qualities: the figure seemed fickle, irritable, unjust, but also kind and sympathetic; lofty and boastful, low and uncontrolled, brave and cowardly. The best notion of the rich style's boldness of invention is to be obtained from the frieze of Phigalia.

More charming than the effects obtained by Parrhasios were those achieved by Zeuxis, who extracted a new magic from fairy-like figures. He painted a Boreas, a Pan, a Triton, a Marsyas in chains and a Centaur mother with her twins surprised by the returning Centaur father, in other words, with a charming mixture of human and animal traits. Thus he always wanted to devise something unusual and strange; he was not interested in the universally valid, as the classical style was, but in the unique. The beguiling softness of vase-paintings in the rich style calls to mind his Eros Crowned with Roses and his Helen, for which the most beautiful maidens of Croton posed as models. He too was interested in the psychological aspect of painting, even though Aristotle maintained that he lacked 'ethos'; he painted a character study of an old woman, just as Parrhasios painted one of a Thracian



APPX. PL. 29

PLATES PP. 153, 156

FIG. 48

PLATE 35 - Maenad. Oinochoe by the Eretria painter. *Basle. Height 9 in. Cf. p. 154.*

nurse. Zeuxis is said to have in the end given his pictures as presents to princes and cities, since no appropriate price for them could be found.

Timanthes of Cythnus, who worked in Sicyon, is said to have once beaten Parrhasios in a competition for a prize. His Iphigenia at the altar on which she is to be sacrificed is reproduced on Roman reliefs and even on an ivory casket of the Byzantine Renaissance. Agamemnon's extreme sorrow was indicated by making him turn away with veiled head, and the expressions of the other bystanders were subtly differentiated. So may we picture Euripides' noblest creation, his Iphigenia. According to Pliny Timanthes possessed in the highest degree the gift of invention; it surpassed even his technical skill. His paintings conveyed to the inner eye, says Pliny, more than was actually painted.

If we survey what we now know of the rich style it becomes clear that it was not so mannerist as the vases of Meidias, the best-known potter of the period, might suggest. There was certainly empty formalism and artistry, but this is only the reverse side of an extremely fruitful epoch in which Sophocles, Euripides and Aristophanes created the most splendid works and the young Plato conversed with Socrates. The discovery of female passions in the figures of Medea and Procne and the discovery of the idyllic have influenced every succeeding age.

Written information about Greek painters is more plentiful than information about sculptors; painting was valued more highly. This is particularly true of the rich style. Thus in literature as well we possess three times as many works by Euripides, the most famous poet of the rich style, as by Aeschylus or Sophocles. The abundant information about the painters also sheds new light on the sculptors, to whom we now turn once more.

In the book on sculptors in marble Pliny says that Pheidias' most important pupils were Alkamenes and Agorakritos. Alkamenes was an Athenian; he lived at least a generation longer than Pheidias. After the fall of the Thirty Tyrants at Athens he created, in 403, the group of Athena and Heracles in the sanctuary of Heracles at Thebes. Our most certain knowledge of him comes from the votive offering that he set up on the Acropolis, a Procne with her son Itys clinging to her in fear. It seems to be preserved in the actual original. The opposition in the rhythmical construction of the two sides of the body seems to put it after 430, not long before the bridge inscription of 421. But how different is the style from that of the maidens

SCULPTURE
AND
ARCHITECTURE
Alkamenes

APPX. PL. 36

APPX. PL. 30



FIG. 50 - *Sacrifice of Iphigenia. Roman altar relief in Florence, based on Timanthes' painting of about 410 B.C. Cf. above.*

of the Erechtheum! Their drapery is finer and more transparent, and it is subordinate to the articulation of the body. On the other hand, Procne's heavy drapery and its pictorially flat arrangement corresponds to the curious mood of the work: Procne stands before us tortured by doubt whether she should kill her only son in order to revenge herself on his cruel father. In the old story Procne had acted swiftly and without reflection in passionate anger and sorrow. But Alkamenes knew Euripides' *Mekke*, performed shortly before, in 431, and he asks from what disturbances of the soul the despairing act of infanticide can spring.

The Athenians entrusted Alkamenes with the portraits of so many gods because they admired his delicate psychology and powers of invention as much as they did those of his contemporary Euripides. They now came to prefer Euripides more and more to the older tragic poets. We also possess Roman copies of goddesses from the reliefs on Attic inscriptions, for example the Demeter from the relief of 421 and the Hera from the relief of 431. Both could well be by Alkamenes, like the Hera on the east pediment of the Parthenon. His Hecate and Hermes, too, are known to us in Roman reproductions. Both works archaize a little in the spirit of the time of the Peace of Nicias. What people admired in Alkamenes' Hephaestus, the cult statue in the Hephaesteum in the market place, which dates from 421/416, was the suggestion of launiness, which at the same time did not disfigure the statue. This Hephaestus is reproduced on a Roman clay lamp, and there is a handsome copy of the head in the Vatican; it expresses the silence peculiar to every earnest craftsman, the mental concentration that precedes the creative activity of the hands. It is more difficult to say what the Athena alongside Hephaestus looked like. Since in the accounts for the cult statue of the Hephaesteum an anthemion or acanthus bush under Athena's shield is mentioned, it has been supposed that the Athena of Cherschel, which has an ornament at this spot, is the sought for copy. However, I should prefer to regard this noble work as a product of the homely style prevailing about 370. The relief in the Vatican, too, showing the birth of Erichthonios, which S. Karouzos took for a copy of the base of the cult statue in the Hephaesteum, is stylistically quite different in character. Just as on the base of the Olympian Zeus the birth of Aphrodite was depicted, on that of Athena Parthenos the creation of Pandora and on that of the Nemesis of Rhamnus the origin of Helen, so here the birth of the son of Hephaestus and Athena is shown. The Earth Mother has emerged almost as far as her knees in order to hand over the new-born child to Athena. Athena bends her knee and spreads out her robe in order to take the child in her arms. The remains suggest how warm and rich the whole group was — more familiar to the potters and smiths who worked in the neighbourhood than the Olympian world of Phidias on the Parthenon.

In the original reliefs of the Hephaesteum Alkamenes' own hand can only be traced in the most important figures, just as on the Parthenon only a small proportion of the work was carried out by Phidias himself. The Theseus metopes of the sides correspond in style to the older metopes on the Parthenon. But the figures leave more space free; they are finer, like the whole building. We do not see effect and counter effect, as we do on the Parthenon; Theseus is triumphant everywhere. Never in the early classical style had movement been seen in such a flowing and

APPX. PL. 37

APPX. PL. 30, 32

FIG. 34

FIG. 36

PLATE ON SLIP-CASE

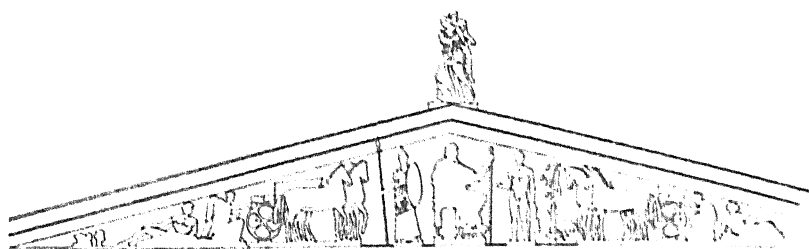


FIG. 51 — East front of the Hephaesteum. Reconstruction after H. Thompson. .
Cf. below.

FIG. 51

unconstrained way. Of the nine Labours of Heracles on the east front the last is emphasized, with one of the Hesperides giving Heracles the golden apples of immortality. This is preceded by the slaying of the giant Geryon, because this deed too took place in the extreme west, where the land of the gods was supposed to be. The Hesperides lead on to the theme of the pediment, which H. Thompson has shrewdly deduced from the scanty remains. He sees here a picture of Heracles' installation on Olympus — the end of the tension between divine and earthly existence: in the middle Zeus on his throne, to the right Heracles, to the left Athena, both of them standing before their teams of horses, and as akroterion two Hesperides, one of whom carries the other on her back to enable her to reach the apples more easily. The early classical style had seen the tragic, grief-laden life of the hero; the rich style and the late classical style know only the redeemed hero. If Thompson's interpretation is correct, we have here the first concrete example of the new conception, a symbol of the hope of redemption that fits Alkamenes' popular character very well. The weight of emphasis in the pediment scene does not lie on the act of installation, so gaily and splendidly depicted by archaic art, but on its final result, the Olympian existence of the redeemed hero, now released from all his toils. From now on, all pictorial art testifies more and more to the hope of a happy eternal life. Heracles' stance corresponds to the harmonious *contrapposto* of Polykleitos' Doryphoros, but the figure is a little looser and of more slender proportions.

PLATE P. 136

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FIGS. 36, 37

The east frieze gives a richer and more involved impression than the east pediment and belongs stylistically to the period of the west pediment of the Parthenon. The framing of the battling giants (Theseus and the Pollantidae?) by groups of gods and the smaller figures of heroic warriors is unique, at any rate in sculpture; there might have been such distinctions between events in the foreground and those in the background in painting. The movement does not run simply from left to right but rather from behind to the gods and giants in front. This is reminiscent of the composition of the Gigantomachy on the shield of Athena Parthenos. Nevertheless, a rhythmic flow runs to the strongest movement in the middle and dies away to the right. In the subtlety of its psychological differentiation the frieze follows the Parthenon frieze, but far surpasses it in the suppleness of the relations between the individual figures. The heavily flowing drapery, especially on Hera, could well have been executed by Alkamenes about the same time as the Demeter of the

Capitol. The way in which the gods accompany human events is something new. At Olympia they had decided events, and on the Parthenon they had received the procession of people; now they have less power and have become more objects of understanding.

PLATE P. 81
FIGS. 36, 37

The influence of the Parthenon metopes can be observed at numerous points in the Centaur battle of the west frieze. But now everything has become more flexible and detailed. The figures are irregularly distributed and the rhythms are frequently broken up in a life-like way, so that the warriors seem smaller and more delicate. Several figures are assembled in picturesque groups. Much as one is reminded of Phigalia, the style is still far from the violence and pictorial wealth of the later fifth century; the plastic-linear style is still dominant, even if it is not carried through so consistently as on the Parthenon and motifs from large-scale painting are taken over with less hesitation.

APPX. PL. 28

Soon after the Peace of Nicias Alkamenes made the gold and ivory statue of Dionysus Eleuthereus for the god's sanctuary, of which the famous theatre formed part. Another late work, the cult statue in the temple of Ares, he seems not to have created until about 400, that is, if it really has been handed down to us in the Ares Borghese of the Louvre and its replicas, as has been supposed since Furtwängler. Doubt arises because the heavy stance full on the soles of the feet does not occur until after the Peloponnesian War, curious as it may seem that a statue should have been dedicated to the god of war at that particular time. But the way in which here in apparent calm a controlled passion for love and fighting is depicted corresponds perfectly to Alkamenes' psychological brand of art.

APPX. PL. 29

Another highly celebrated cult statue of this period is not directly attributed to Alkamenes, but the conception suggests that it was in fact by him. This is the statue of Asclepius, whose cult was introduced into Athens by the poet Sophocles; it is the oldest statue of a god who feels with men. He leans on a stick, like the citizens to whom he turns. That is how the oldest votive reliefs show him. Through Pheidias and his pupils the gods of the ripe classical period had become so very much pure images that they must have seemed inaccessible to the prayers of simple men. We have already noticed on the Hephaesteum how the gods have become involved in events and no longer decide them. That is why the Eleusinian mysteries acquire new importance in the classical period. Like other great contemporaries, Sophocles too was initiated into the mysteries. This very man, who surpassed all other writers in contrasting the inexorable sway of the Olympians with the tragic boldness of the heroes, was endowed with a deep humanity and bathed the works of his old age – the *Oedipus Coloneus* and the *Philoctetes* – in an atmosphere of hope and redemption. In this spirit he celebrated Asclepius with cult hymns and new altars, so that the Athenians themselves honoured him as a hero, the hero Dexios.

FIG. 9

An exceptionally famous statue was the Aphrodite in the Gardens. Pliny says that Pheidias put the finishing touches to it; it must therefore have been distinguished from Alkamenes' other works by a special Pheidias-like magic. We are indebted to Pausanias for the important piece of information that in the same sanctuary there was a pillar-shaped monument to the goddess. Lucian puts the

APPX. PL. 39

Aphrodite in the Gardens alongside the Athena Lemnia and the Amazon of Pheidias and calls it Alkamenes' fairest work. He praises, besides cheeks and face, the rhythm of the wrists and the slight, dainty movement of the fingers. All this fits the classical portrait of Aphrodite that exerted such a powerful influence throughout antiquity and was reproduced with variations again and again, the goddess leaning on a pillar and unveiling herself. The pillar is the old cult object mentioned by Pausanias — gods are often shown alongside their archaic idols as living embodiments of them, so to speak — and a votive relief from the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Daphni shows her beside a tree that symbolizes the sacred gardens of the goddess. To the pious worshipper who approaches the old cult image of the goddess she appears in person, leaning on the old monument, and unveils herself as a woman does only to those nearest to her. The boldness of the unveiling makes it clear that Alkamenes moved the hearts of the Athenians. The best idea of the content of the work is given by the bronze cheek piece of a helmet, which has now disappeared and is preserved only in modern casts. Here the goddess herself — or is it Helen? — looks, overcome by love, into the eyes of an Eros leaning against her; she is in the grip of an inward emotion, like the gods in the frieze of the Hephaestum, like Proene and Ares. But the Aphrodite is the oldest of these works and gives the impression, even in comparison with the sculptures of the Parthenon, of an unparalleled spiritual breakthrough. This is the *pondus*, the powerful content, that the ancients admired in the work of Alkamenes.

PLATE P. 125

FIG. 36

FIGS. 52-55



The work looks as if it were created directly after the Aphrodite on the east pediment of the Parthenon, of which it is strongly reminiscent. The relationship between the two beings, which occupied Pheidias and his colleagues so much at that time, has become still more intimate. The sparkling counter-movements of clinging and heaped-up folds, arched and sinuous forms, have been refined into a gentler interplay. Above all, what we see is no longer self-contented Olympian existence but a happening nearer to mankind, as in the tragedies of Euripides; indeed, people have been reminded of Euripides' Phaedra, the woman in the grip of an uncontrollable passion. Pheidias' Hera on the east frieze of the Parthenon unveils herself and looks radiant in the joy of the feast, but in Alkamenes' Aphrodite the ancient gesture has achieved a new force and coalesces with the interplay of the eyes into an archetype of surrender. S. Karouzou has also established that Alkamenes was responsible for an Athena leaning on her shield; to judge by the numerous reproductions it was as popular as Pheidias' Athena Parthenos.

The best echoes of Alkamenes' psychological studies are the famous three-figure reliefs showing Orpheus and Eurydice, Medea and the daughters of Pelias, Theseus and Peirithous, and Heracles among the Hesperides. H. Thompson regards them as copies of reliefs which were inserted between the railings of the altar of the Twelve Gods in the market place of Athens. Against this interpretation are the facts that they taper towards the top and therefore cannot be employed architectur-

FIG. 52. *Hermes, Eurydice and Orpheus*. Roman copy of a relief made about 420 B.C. Height 3 ft. 11 1/2 in. See above and p. 163.

FIGS. 53-55 - From top to bottom: Fig. 53 - Medea and the daughters of Pelias. Roman copy of a relief made before 420 B.C. Vatican, earlier Lateran. Height 3 ft. 7½ in. Fig. 54 - Heracles, Peirithous and Theseus. Roman copy of a relief made after 410 B.C. Rome, Museo Torlonia. Height 4 ft. Fig. 55 - Heracles and the Hesperides. Reconstruction based on Roman copies of a relief made after 410 B.C.; original height about 4 ft. Cf. p. 162.



ally, and that they are not contemporaneous, but came into existence one by one between 420 and 405. But they could certainly have been set up at this altar, for they all depict objects of our compassion and this altar was called the altar of compassion because it was a place of asylum. Orpheus and Eurydice, the daughters of Pelias, Theseus and Peirithous, and the Hesperides mourning over Heracles' departure have, as it were, brought their destinies to this altar. The works are thus connected in the same sort of way as the Amazons erected at Ephesus. The tendency towards three-figure groups is associated with the three actors in tragedy, and as in the work of Sophocles and Euripides we can detect a refinement in the relationship of the three figures.

The Orpheus relief, the most perfect three-figure composition, could only have been carved at the moment, about 420, when the double rhythm in the construction of the figure allowed each to be linked with two others. With the release from the classical relief plane in the fourth century richer combinations of figures became possible, but the austere, noble music of the Orpheus relief was heard only once. The lovers are already near to the light of day when Orpheus can no longer contain himself and turns to unveil and embrace Eurydice. She lays her left hand lovingly on his shoulder, but Hermes steps up to her immediately, clutches his chiton angrily with his right hand and seizes her right wrist to lead her back to Hades. Compositionally he is linked to her by the similarity of his attitude, and to Orpheus by symmetry, which also links Orpheus and Eurydice. The event is summed up in the play of the hands that meet each other. By his size, his austere profile and the solemn way he carries his head, Hermes, as a god, is elevated above human fate; even in the *Iliad* the quiet but sinisterly powerful approach of the god makes us shudder. The copies of the relief cannot reproduce the shimmering surface of the original, or the pictorial effect of the layers of drapery and transparent material which shows that the sculptor had also learnt from Agorakritos.

Medea, who stands with drawn sword beside the daughters of Pelias, themselves busy with the tripod, was created under the influence of Procne, and the heavy flowing robe, too, shows that this artist was closer than the sculptor of the Orpheus relief to Alkamenes. But he does not equal the other sculptor in wealth of inner emotion; the relief with the daughters of Pelias must be the oldest of the four. The relief showing Peirithous sitting on the rock, between Heracles and Theseus, presupposes the style of the Nike balustrade; indeed, the light, swinging, standing pose has already stiffened up a little. The dramatic life has given way to a quiet depiction of a state. It is more difficult to pronounce judgement on the Hesperides relief, because it could only be partly put together from fragments. The perspective view of the figure on the right goes further than the Orpheus relief and can be compared with fragments of the Erechtheum frieze, which date from 410. Here,

FIG. 52

PLATE P. 16

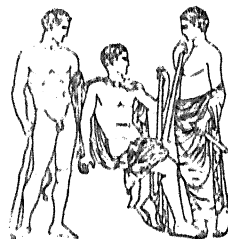


FIG. 53

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too, the dramatic life of the Orpheus and Daughters of Pelias reliefs has yielded to a dreamy, elegiac mood. Heracles is in the land of the gods, but he must leave it again, and the Hesperides feel pangs of love at his departure.

Apart from Alkamenes, Agorakritos of Paros was Pheidias' most important pupil; he was quite different in temperament. The Athenians did not value him as highly as they did Alkamenes, twelve of whose works are known to us through the literary evidence, almost as many as by Pheidias. In Alkamenes' works we can sense how the best element in the Athenian people reacted to the blows of fate. Pheidias had raised himself up into an ideal, absolute sphere and Agorakritos followed him; Alkamenes studies the psychology of the world around him and his shattering Procne reminds us of the plague at Athens, which he lived through.

Agorakritos

FIG. 38

FIG. 56

FIG. 36

PLATES PP. 120, 125

FIGS. 39, 40

APPX. PL. 39

Pliny says of Agorakritos that he was dear to Pheidias because of his youthful charm and talent; no doubt another factor was the amiability of his Ionian temperament — he came from Paros. All this Parian's work makes it clear that he was Pheidias' spiritual heir. When the envy that follows all great men drove Pheidias from Athens he created the statue of Zeus at Olympia, and Agorakritos, too, worked outside Athens, at Rhamnus. Buschor sees the hand of the Parian at work in those parts of the Parthenon which occupy a place of honour beside the ones by Pheidias but in their mobility loosen up the classical restraint and betray a younger artist from the Ionian islands. A good example is the group of young gods before Zeus and Hera, 'one of the most talented, ingenious, mobile, lively groups of figures in the whole frieze, distinguished by a particularly sensuous treatment of the bodies and drapery'. Other examples are the two riders behind the middle horseman in the west frieze and the Aphrodite group of the east pediment. With the latter we have already compared groups in the Niobid friezes and on the helmet cheek-piece; nowhere else in the history of art do we find two beings so close to one another. Here is fulfilment of life in existing for another; here the Thou is *seen* as it is *described* in Plato's *Symposium*. The wonder reminds us of the friendship between master and pupil which it presupposes. A whole series of original works follows Agorakritos' trend. The grave relief of the youth with the cat, the oldest important Attic grave relief known to us from the classical period, might be a youthful work of his. Then even before the Peloponnesian War he seems to have worked on the temple of Nemesis at Rhamnus, to which a boldly mobile akroterion fragment in Athens belongs, and perhaps also the Niobids in Copenhagen. The saga of the sons and daughters of Niobe is particularly appropriate to the temple of Nemesis, the goddess of retribution. It is also characteristic of Sophocles' kind of classicism — incomprehensible death in the midst of flourishing life.

FIG. 56

The tragic secret of life — glory and fate — received a fresh treatment by Agorakritos in the reliefs on the base of the cult statue of Nemesis. Helen, veiled like a bride, is led by her foster-mother Leda to her mother Nemesis, so that the latter can marry her to Menelaus. This scene can be reconstructed from original fragments and Roman copies. Everyone who beheld the relief must have thought of the incalculable fates that perfect beauty brings to guilty and innocent alike, for Helen was to be the cause of the Trojan War. In the same way Polygnotos had already made Helen one of the central figures in his *Iliupersis*: the radiant beauty

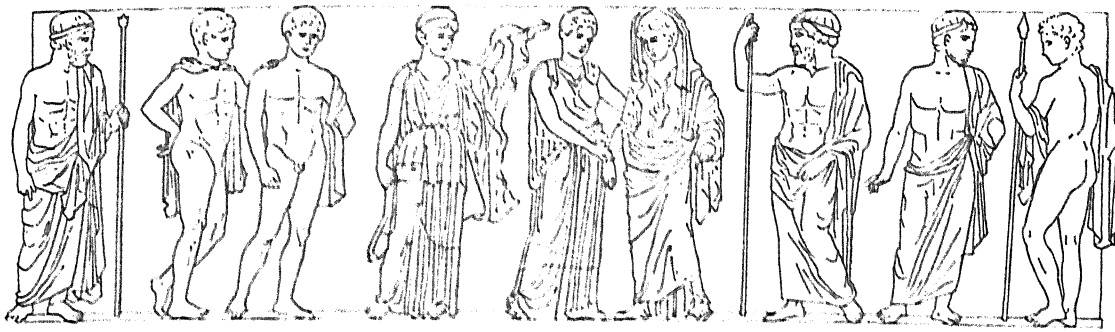


FIG. 56 — Relief on the base of the statue of Nemesis by Agorakritos at Rhamnus. Based on L. Pallat's reconstruction from fragments in the National Museum, Athens. Cf. p. 164.

in dreadful surroundings, amid dead and wounded men and prisoners of war. What was depicted there in a mural painting full of figures appears on the base of the statue of Nemesis in archetypal simplicity: Nemesis is bound up with Helen. This says everything if one sees the words as images, in the Greek fashion. On the base of the Athena Parthenos, too, the central figure was the bearer of unforeseeable fate, in this case Pandora. But Pheidias had surrounded her with the glory of the Olympians, while Agorakritos puts only heroes beside Nemesis, in accordance with the more earnest mood prevailing at the time of the Peace of Nicias.

The reliefs have the radiant appearance and volatile psychology of the rich style but not its voluptuous seeking after effect and momentary excitement. There is a clear intensification of movement from the dignified King Tyndareus on the left via the two brothers, the Dioscuri, to the radiantly graceful Nemesis; then comes Helen, gently answering, and a corresponding solemnity in Agamemnon, Menelaus and Pyrrhus. In contrast with the duller youths' heads are the great features of Helen, with the overshadowed eyes and heavy mouth, sinister and incalculable.

The efforts of our imagination to picture the cult statue of Nemesis are assisted by a Demeter from Eleusis which, to judge by the similarity with the fragments of the base, may well be a work from the hand of Agorakritos himself. With her left hand she supported a sceptre and held her cloak, which, held by the lowered right hand as well, formed a gleaming background with large folds for the more delicate articulation of the draperies over the body; she was thus an apparition of Olympian glory, revealing the wonderful happiness which she bestowed on the initiate. The statue of Nemesis must be thought of as still mightier and somewhat more austere, for the Demeter cannot date from long before the record relief of 409. According to Pausanias, Nemesis held an apple twig in her left hand and in the right a libation bowl, on the inside of which Ethiopians were depicted. The head was crowned with a garland of stags and goddesses of victory. The attributes tell us that the power of the goddess is inescapable, embraces both mankind and nature, and reaches to the ends of the earth. This lofty conception of Nemesis must come from Pheidias' circle of friends, for hitherto Nemesis and Themis, who were

APPX. PL. 38

APPX. PL. 31

PLATE P. 167

FIGS. 57-59

APPX. PL. 29

FIGS. 57-59

FIG. 58

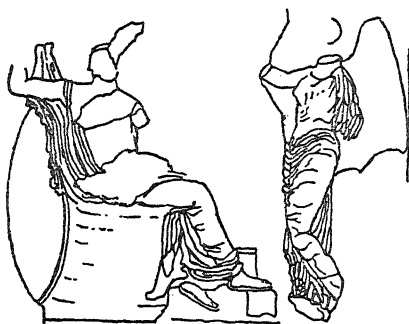
worshipped together at Rhamnus, had been goddesses of order and apportionment, but also mistresses of the meadows and animals, of fertility in field and forest.

After the completion of the Nemesis at Rhamnus the frieze of the temple of Athena Nike could be entrusted to the workshop of Agorakritos. The gods in the east frieze are conceived in a way quite different from that of Alkamenes. They are not involved in the events, as they are on the Hephaesteum; they are depicted in Olympian tranquillity, whose effect is only intensified by the movement of the subordinate figures, the Hours and Graces. This Olympus is delicate, transfigured, delightful, like the ones on the vases of Meidias; Agorakritos himself would have given the theme a more powerful treatment, as we shall see in a moment from the reliefs on the balustrade of the temple. But of all the great masters of the period the sculptor of the east frieze of the temple of Nike is closest to his aristocratic passion for beauty. He tried to follow Pheidias and to combine a ravishing enchantment with the dignity of the gods on the Parthenon. To this end he employs not only the new virtuosity in marble work but also other means; of these, the preference for the frontal view, in particular, was to have a great future. In addition, there is a sort of syncopated rhythm in the succession of the forms, which lends the frieze a pictorial unity. It is no longer simply a row of plastic units, as in the older art, but an articulated picture full of tension. The same is true of the friezes showing battles, the groups in which should not be seen in isolation. They are amazingly different from the somewhat older Phigalia frieze. Here, too, it is true, there is a good deal of diagonal positioning and pictorial stratification, but the figures are much more slender and delicate and further apart from each other, so that the background of the relief chimes in as an extended gap and helps to give an atmospheric quality.

Soon after 410, in one last hopeful phase of the Peloponnesian War, the high terrace of the temple was surrounded with a balustrade adorned with reliefs. This was the last addition made in the classical period to Pericles' remodelling of the Acropolis. The three main sides — north, south and west — and the short pieces by the steps to the terrace all contain variations on the one theme: in the presence of Athena on her throne goddesses of victory sacrifice oxen, adorn trophies and serve at smoking altars. The acts of worship in the presence of the godhead recall the Parthenon frieze, but now goddesses serve in place of men. The atmosphere has become miraculous again and the event of the sacrifice endowed with unparalleled glory; never had so many Nikai been seen together. There were about fifty figures in the hundred-foot-long frieze. And even if Athens lost the Peloponnesian War she won a lasting victory in the completion of the Acropolis. Within the framework of the rich style the balustrade of the temple of Nike retains much of the classical Being, which elsewhere is often sacrificed to the production of a dazzling impression. It is preserved best of all by the sculptor of the Nike undoing her sandal. We know the delicate, clinging folds of the base of the statue of Nemesis, and can guess that the idea of the balustrade frieze and the execution of this goddess of victory is due to Agorakritos. With this he put the finishing touch to the Acropolis, the creation of his master Pheidias. Never again have figures stood so lightly, never again has there been such harmony of body



PLATE 36 – Temple of Nike, Athens (ground-plan, page 145). After 420 B.C. *Cf. p. 166.*



FIGS. 57-59 - *Reliefs from the balustrade of the temple of Athena Nike. After 410 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Fig. 57 - Goddess of Victory, sacrificing before Athene. Fig. 59 - Goddesses of Victory (on the left by Master A, the rest by Master B). Cf. pp. 166-169.*

FIG. 56

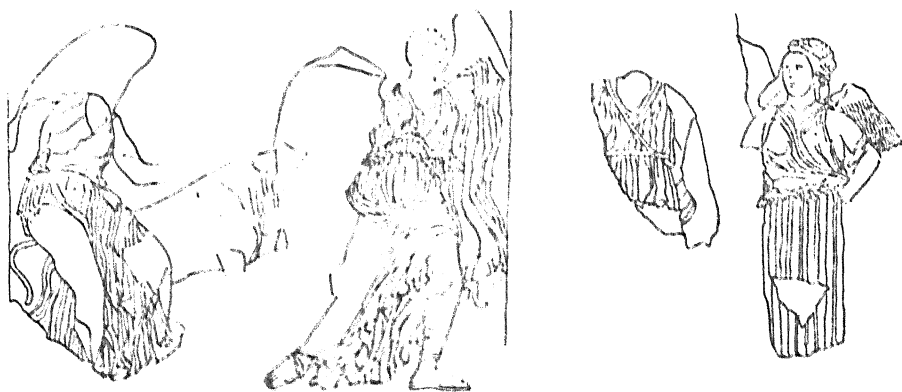
and drapery. The folds are no longer subordinate to the plastic structure, as on the base of the statue of Nemesis; they play over the body in ceaseless change, in a charmingly sensuous fashion. Swinging lines accompany the body in such a way that they let it shine through but do not model it in the way which is characteristic, as we shall see, of Agorakritos' colleague Kallimachos. The immaterial lightness and transparency contribute to the feeling of happy, festive enthusiasm, which rises above everything heavy in life. It anticipates in a sort of dream what the transfiguring archetypal quality of the late classical style was to turn into reality in the Platonic sense.

FIG. 59 LEFT
FIG. 59 MIDDLE
AND RIGHT

The collaborators on the balustrade stand out particularly clearly; there had obviously been a competition and one was to be able to distinguish the technical skill of the competitors. Sculptor A is not one of the great masters. I am inclined to think that the younger and more important sculptor B is Kallimachos. Great swinging groups of folds articulate and accompany the bodies. They contribute to their light swinging attitude without overlaying them as in the work of Agorakritos. The long ridges of the folds stand out from the flat, clinging parts and often stand almost perpendicular on the ground. An obliquely set, running drill serves the flaming dramatic form. The edges of the draperies are, as it were, blown out. The standing goddess is reminiscent of the korai of the Erechtheum (Appendix plate 37), which may be an older work by the same sculptor, but their heaviness is transformed into hovering lightness. Again and again we find the characteristic tendency towards the bifurcation of long, double-edged folds. In the work of Kallimachos one senses a dichotomy between body and drapery, in that of Agorakritos a unity which leaves only as much of the body visible as is important for the work as a whole. In Plato's *Dialogues* at this time enthusiasm is repeatedly described as the essence of artistic creation, in contrast to the stricter



FIG. 58 - *Goddess of Victory loosening her sandals.*



artistic doctrine of the mature classical period. We also have a good deal of evidence that virtuosity played an important part in music in the rich style.

The grave reliefs of Ampharete and Hegesio follow the manner of Agorakritos in the colourful play of the draperies and the swing of the bodies, but a few bunched-up groups of folds remain which do not fit in with the movement as a whole, and in general these works reflect a quieter temperament. The empty surfaces of the tombstone now share in the artistic effect. The classical relief was composed entirely of figures, but the basis of the composition is now a picture. The overlapping of the pillars by the figures makes a decisive contribution to this artistic effect, which is much subtler than that of the somewhat older Phigalia frieze: there the vivid contrasts, overlappings and foreshortenings make the contrast with the classical relief much clearer than it is in the grave reliefs. The sculptors of the grave reliefs know how to express with sparing means the inner bond between Ampharete and the child and between mistress and maid. Agorakritos has made it possible for the body not to have to carry itself, as it were; the bearing element is in the folds of the drapery and the bodies move with them in a spiritual, supra-corporeal movement of life. Thus the maid in her long, sleeved chiton gains a lightness that makes her beauty appear as precious as the jewels which her mistress is taking out of the casket and admiring — a sort of symbol of the sweet dream of life. And the epitaph on Ampharete's stele says quite simply that the immortality of these people is just the immortality of the perfect work of art: 'Here I hold my daughter's beloved child, which I used to hold on my knees when we were alive and beheld the rays of the sun; now I have vanished, and so has the child I hold.'

For the most important sculptor of the balustrade apart from Agorakritos we have suggested the name of Kallimachos. According to Vitruvius he invented the Corinthian capital. If the right hand of the Athena Parthenos was really supported by a Corinthian capital (though this is disputed), then he was already working with Pheidias at that time. At any rate, an ingenious openwork shape like this fits in with what Pausanias tells us about Kallimachos' marvels in the Erechtheum: he manufactured a golden candlestick which only needed to be replenished with

PLATE P. 171

APPX. PL. 26-28

APPX. PL. 29

*Kallimachos and the
Erechtheum*

FIG. 59
MIDDLE AND RIGHT

oil once a year and also a bronze palm which protected the ceiling from the smoke of the lamp — in other words, a chimney or flue. In the same context Pausanias praises his skill in boring stones. Drills had already been used earlier on marble, but it was an innovation to employ the running drill at a slanting angle so as to produce long grooves in the drapery of the sort to be observed on that part of the Nike balustrade which we have attributed to Kallimachos.

Vitruvius, too, praises the elegance and subtlety of Kallimachos' work in marble. On the whole the classical sculptors preferred to work in bronze, but some of the great masters are specially mentioned as having worked in marble. Such is the case with Pheidias, and this is explained by his share in the marble sculptures of the Parthenon. We may surmise that Kallimachos had a similar share in the Erechtheum, whose lamp and palm were certainly his work. The deeply bored ornamentation of the Erechtheum presupposes his technique with the running drill. The older classical architectural ornamentation on the Parthenon and the Propylaea were modelled more on painting and were shallower in depth — for example, the Ionic Propylaea capital — while the Erechtheum capitals are deeply undercut. In addition, there is the greater importance of the acanthus in the ornamentation, as one would expect in the work of the inventor of the Corinthian capital.

PLATE P. 173
FIG. 9

The Erechtheum may take its name from the passage in the *Odyssey* where it says that Athena dwells in the house of Erechtheus. The eastern section of the building sheltered the cult statue of Athena, while the trident monument stood in the north porch and the west front looked out on the precinct with the sacred olive-tree, which recalled the dispute between Athena and Poseidon. The idea of assembling cult statue and cult monuments in the Erechtheum must go back to Pericles and his friends. Under the Caryatid portico was the grave of Cecrops, and in the temple itself there were also altars to Poseidon, Hephaestus and an ancient king called Butes. The style of the Caryatids suggests that the building was begun about 420 after the Peace of Nicias. The spirit of this period is reflected in the character of this monumental shrine for relics, which for all the refinement of the rich style looks old-fashioned alongside the monumental brightness of the Parthenon. Pheidias' gods are pure, unapproachable form, but the ordinary people of Athens clung to the sort of images and emblems to be found in the Erechtheum. There and in the temple of Athena Nike stood old-fashioned idols. The various sections of the building are simply added together in the archaic fashion; even the conception of the Caryatid portico and the small-scale delicacy of the Ionic frieze were bound to produce an old-fashioned effect.

APPX. PL. 37

PLATE P. 120
FIGS. 36, 37

FIG. 60

The building's lack of external grandeur was counterbalanced by its exceptionally rich ornamentation. The central part was knit together by an architrave divided into three fascias which bore a frieze 65 yards long consisting of delicate white marble figures on a background of greyish blue limestone. The six columns of the east portico are the most slender in the whole of Attica, in nicely calculated contrast to the north and Caryatid porticos. The baldachin-like character is even more obvious here in the Ionic order than in the Doric; light lie the ceilings over the holy places. This is particularly noticeable in the north portico through the bright positioning of the columns. The unity of the building is also assisted by the fact



PLATE 37 - Grave relief of Ampharete. About 405 B.C. Athens. Height 4 ft. Cf. p. 169.

that the base of the walls has been given the profile of the east portico's base. The royal north portico is distinguished by the triple plaited ornamental band of the upper torus at the base of the columns and by a similar torus under the volutes. As Gruben puts it: 'What produced an almost magical effect was that all the meshes of the network were inlaid with bright beads and the spirals of the volutes of the springy capitals were edged with gilded strips of bronze, which started from a golden central rosette and ended in a fine metal palmette which filled the spandrels between volute and torus. Was it ordinary stonemasons who worked here, or goldsmiths?' The rosettes of the north door, too, were inlaid with precious materials, and the superb effect of the whole was heightened by painting. The span of the ceiling was nineteen feet and thus a little bigger than that of the Propylaea. The expansion of the portico produced a particularly solemn effect here, in contrast with the small interior. The building accounts tell us that the wooden coffered ceilings of the interior were richly gilded and adorned with plastic acanthus motifs and rosettes. Unusually careful building accounts have been preserved for the years 409/406; this is no doubt connected with the intrigues of a democracy, but may also be due to the hieratic character of the building. In these accounts every unfinished stone is listed with its measurements. It appears that the Caryatid and west porticos were complete and the north portico almost complete; but the east portico and the walls were still in the rough and the entablature and roof had not yet been begun. Everyone working on the temple, from the architect Philokles down to the day labourers, was paid one drachma a day. The fluting of each of the columns in the east porch took 350 days' labour; this gives some idea of the care with which the work was executed.

The female figures that support the portico over the grave of Cecrops are called *korai*, maidens, in the building accounts. There were many maidens in the service of Athena: the three daughters of Cecrops, for example, the sister deities of the dew, to whom the chest containing the child Erichthonios was entrusted for safe keeping. Then there were the Arrhephorai, who every year had to carry a mysterious chest on their heads into the sanctuary of Aphrodite on the northern slope of the Acropolis; the place where they played with a ball is mentioned several times — a statue of the young Isocrates stood there. They lived on the citadel. It is in this area, too, that most of the archaic *korai* were found. Thus the Caryatids of the portico are maidens in the service of the goddess. Their functions cannot be more precisely defined; they are comparable with the three Horae, the three Charites and the nine Muses on Olympus. Human figures had been linked to architecture and utensils in the East and in Greece down to the middle of the fifth century. It is significant that at that point the series of mirrors held by female figures comes to an end and the folding mirror takes over instead. Thus the Caryatid porch constitutes a return to a pre-classical usage, though without any real archaizing: the act of supporting is balanced with classical freedom; it seems light

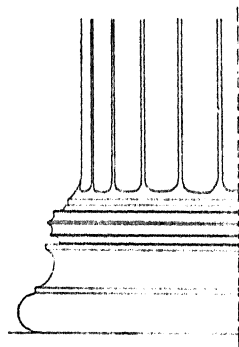


FIG. 60 — Base of one of the columns of the east portico of the Erechtheum. About 420 B.C. Cf. p. 170.

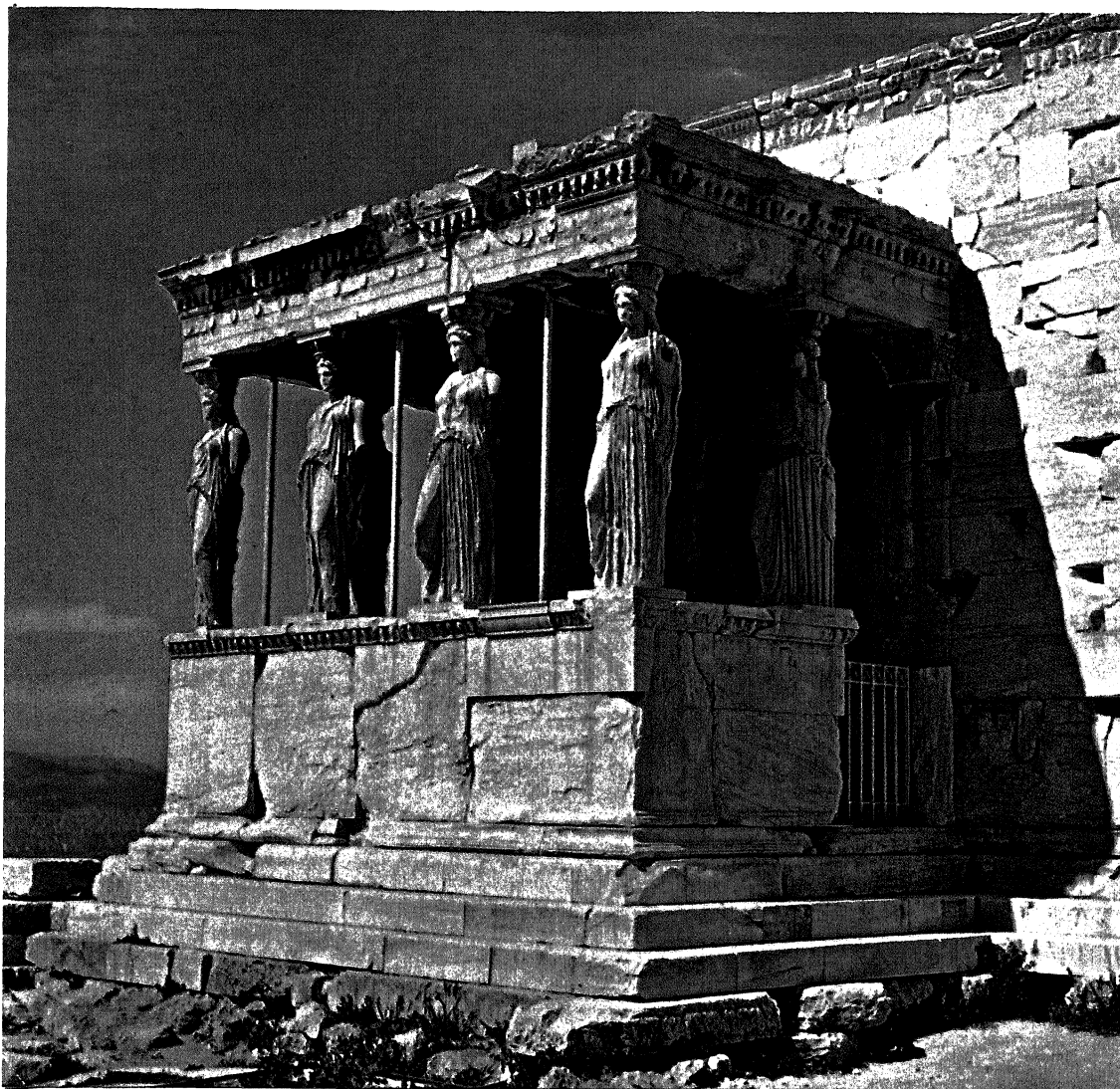


PLATE 38 – Portico on the Erechtheum. 420 B.C. *Athens. Height of the maidens 7 ft. 8 in. Cf. p. 170.*

and effortless and gains its firmness from the law of the classical stance. The figure is no longer conceived as a pillar, as it was in the archaic period, but as a balance of forces, those of bearing up and weighing down. The bearing element of the weight-carrying leg, the relaxed freedom of the other side of the figure and the inversion in the upper part of the body produce an interplay of forces which corresponds to the construction of the whole portico, for in the left-hand trio of maidens the weight-carrying leg is on the left, and in the right-hand trio on the right, so that there is a counter-rhythm between them. A similar living interplay is perceptible between the maidens and their light baldachin, which loses all its heaviness through the articulation of the entablature with fascias, rosettes, fine kymatia and denticulation, and through the absence of the frieze. The powerful articulation of Kallimachos can be compared with the maidens, if we are right in identifying him as sculptor B of the Nike balustrade. However, Kallimachos will have been responsible only for the design; the work of several collaborators can be discerned in the maidens and the building accounts mention a fairly large number of stonemasons in connection with the frieze. They are not among the famous names of Athens.

Paionios

After the excavations at Olympia it became possible to reconstruct on paper one of the most amazing *tours de force* in marble: on a three-sided pillar nearly thirty feet high the goddess of victory hovers over a marble cloud, through which the eagle of Zeus flies from the right announcing victory. The sculptor describes himself in the inscription on the base as Paionios of Mende, a colony of Eretria on the promontory of Chalcidice; he adds that he was also the victor in a competition to design akroteria for the temple of Zeus. This pride and the erection on a high pillar are Ionian; Dorian bases are low. The boldness of the marble work, too, is Ionian: it is almost incredible that the thin cloak, which was held behind the goddess with both hands and caught the wind, was carved from the same block of marble, and that the statue, which is nine and a half feet high, stood for almost a thousand years intact in the southerly gales. The inscription on the base also tells us the occasion of the dedication: the inhabitants of Messenia and Naupactus were bringing the tithe to Olympian Zeus. Fear prevents them from naming their enemies, but Pausanias tells us that it was the Spartans, who until then had enjoyed the hegemony of the Peloponnese but in 421 were defeated at Sphacteria by the Athenians with the help of the Messenians; the people of Naupactus took part in other battles against the Spartans.

Not only is the work itself a piece of virtuosity; so is the way in which Paionios' temperament has adjusted itself to the Peloponnesian tradition: the powerful form of the goddess and the simple articulation by means of the drapery are more Doric in effect than the sculptures of the Heraeum of Argos. The whole weight of the marble statue rests on the cloud through the foot alone, with the ends of the drapery partly on the cloud and partly on the right wing of the eagle. The left leg

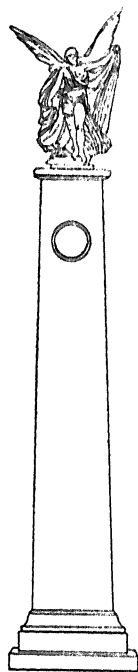


FIG. 61 - Nike by Paionios. Reconstruction based on the original. After 424 B.C. Olympia. Height 7 ft. Cf. above.

sticks out naked from the Dorian peplos, which is open on the left side and girded up over the long overlap. The overlap, blowing to the side from the girdle, makes the upper part of the body seem lighter. The break was once strengthened by a girdle made of metal. The pin over the left shoulder is undone, to give the arm more freedom; at the same time this emphasizes the contrast between the more unveiled left side and the more withdrawn right side, which is borne by the drapery as if by a sail. One must also visualize the background of wind-blown cloak and the contrasts of bright painting. In this way the impression of hovering was achieved as never before. The wings must have been much bigger than in the usual reconstructions, as vase-paintings show.

Archaic art had depicted the goddess of victory running swiftly; the early classical period had preferred to show her swimming through the air and touching the ground. Paionios was the first to take quite seriously the problem of the hovering of a heavy body, with as much technical understanding as if he had made experiments with a parachute. This too is a piece of virtuosity and entirely in keeping with the age of the Sophists. Forty years later Timotheos was to approach the task from a new angle and to produce a very light and delicate goddess borne up by giant wings which she holds obliquely like a bird in the wind — one of the first works of late classical domination of space. At the height of the Hellenistic period the Rhodian — in other words, Dorian — sculptor of the Victory of Samothrace was to turn away from such bold wings of fantasy: his goddess has jumped on to the bow of the captured ship and blows the trumpet of victory. Classical divine Being has been replaced by the wonder of the moment.

Paionios preferred to use marble, the Ionian material, rather than bronze, which would have made his task easier from a technical point of view. The reason can only have been that he needed the bright colours which it was the custom to give marble. There are still traces of rose pink on the drapery; and the girdle was made of gilded bronze. Never before had sculpture produced anything so captivating in its colours. The figure leaned forward considerably and was made to be seen from below, whence it appears alone in all its slenderness, like a response to the heroic figures of the east pediment — not just an artistic creation but a divine being born out of the air.

The temple of Apollo Epikurios, Apollo the Guardian, at Bassae, near Phigalia, is praised by Pausanias as the most beautiful and best-built in the Peloponnese, apart from the one at Tegea, which also receives high praise. Pausanias says that the architect was Iktinos, whom we know as the architect of the Parthenon, and that the occasion of its construction was the preservation of the people of Phigalia from the plague during the Peloponnesian War. This not very clear piece of information suggests that building began after 429. In fact the powerful opposing rhythms in the frieze fit in better with the Nike of Paionios than with the Nike balustrade or the akroterion of Delos. The effect of the whole is more heroic than that of the Erechtheum; we are nearer to the great spirit of the Parthenon and thus must be face to face with the first masterpiece in the rich style. The work probably took most of the penultimate decade of the century. The friezes of the temple of Nike, which are possibly contemporaneous, no longer possess the same force. The

FIG. 3

APPX. PL. 44

FIG. 14

*Iktinos' Temple of
Apollo near Phigalia*

APPX. PL. 29

PLATE P. 173

stylistic history of vases and grave reliefs confirms this early dating of the Phigalia frieze.

FIG. 62

The construction shows at every point the originality dear to the age of the Sophists. The cella itself, in which the cult statue stood facing east, is small, but the temple as a whole is orientated transversely to the north. The line of the temple also directs the glance towards the south, where the trapezium of the citadel of Messene is outlined against the sea; for we are over 3,000 feet up in the lonely mountains.

FIG. 63

Like every Greek building, the temple focuses the plastic character of the landscape. Inside, as a result of the orientation, there is a central space next to the one that contained the cult statue, and this central space is quite distinctive in character. To accommodate it, the temple is extended longways, as had been usual in the archaic period (the columns are in the proportion 6 : 15 instead of the classical 6 : 13). Probably this inner chamber was used for healing sleep, for Apollo was worshipped as a god of healing and there seem to have been no other porticos there such as served elsewhere for the cult of 'healing sleep'. It must have been exceptionally awe-inspiring to know that the god was so near, and this feeling was still further intensified by the architectural form: five pairs of Ionic columns were attached to the wall by projecting spur walls, and a more slender, free-standing Corinthian column between the last pair lent a solemn emphasis to the way through to the cult statue. The Ionic and Doric orders had been combined before, but they had never been assimilated to each other to such an extent. All the columns are equally slender. The Ionic capitals are fully formed on three sides; they have the swelling line of the older Doric forms and the bases follow the same trend. There is no entasis and the columns are not inclined at all. But the most distinctive feature is the new Corinthian capital, which has the effect of a jewel in the interior as a whole. The wonderful frieze that runs all round the chamber is in keeping with this centre-piece. It depicted Heracles' fight with the Amazons — the Dorian saga instead of the Attic one of Theseus' fight with the Amazons — and also a battle against the Centaurs with a significant new leading motif: Apollo and Artemis appear driving a team of stags and bring help, like the *deus ex machina* in Euripides, while the bride has fled to the old-fashioned statue of the god (Appendix plate 29). As in Euripides, the traditional conceptions of the gods are shown as helpless until the true godhead comes to the rescue. This must have affected those who came in search of a cure all the more deeply since the deployment of entablature and frieze inside a temple was just as unparalleled as the whole combination of rooms and reliefs in this building. The pilgrim was surrounded by what usually surrounded the temple and the cult statue of the god. From the chamber containing his cult statue the god put out his saving hand, as it were, round the pious.

On top of all this there is the effect of the space. The space is not yet, it is true, an end in itself, as it is in Roman art, nor even an atmospheric envelope for the plastic form, as it is in the late classical period; it remains an intermediate space. But this

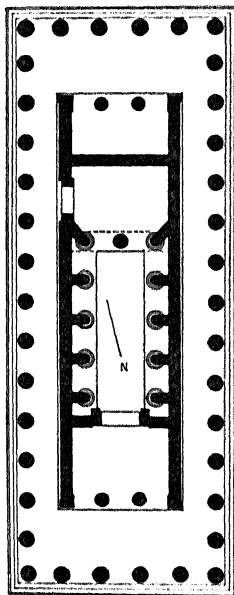


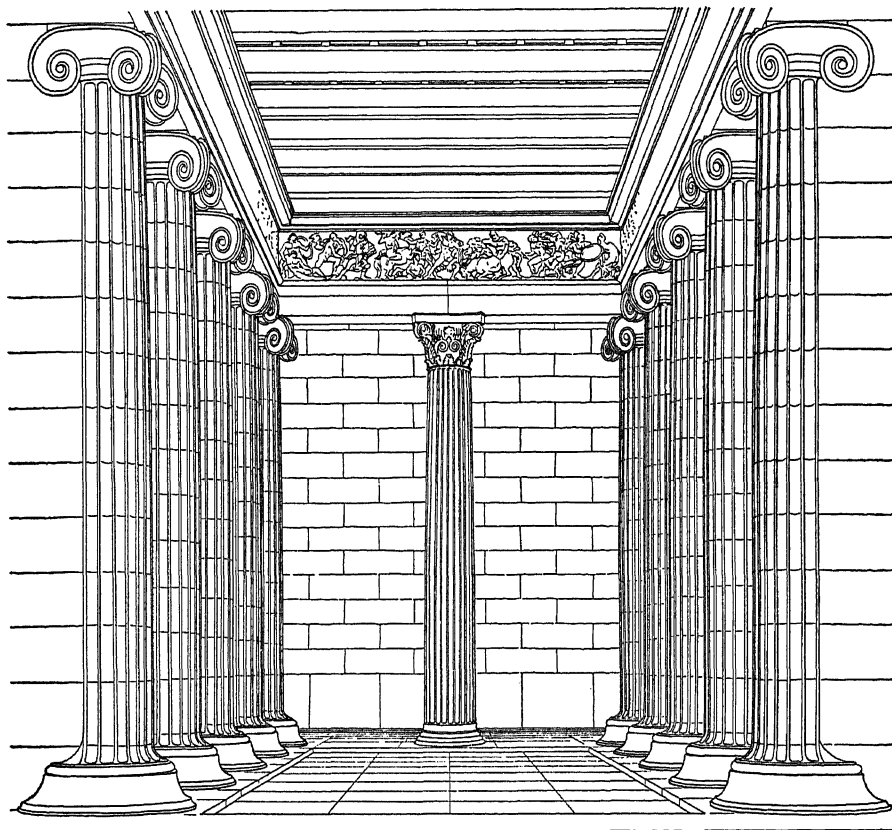
FIG. 62 — Plan of the temple of Apollo at Bassae. About 420 B.C. Cf. above.

intermediate space is ingeniously extended beyond what we have already observed in the Parthenon, the Propylaea and at Eleusis. By enlarging the front porch to a depth of two intercolumnations Iktinos created open, light-flooded spaces which were distinguished by their marble coffered ceilings from the side passages, whose ceilings were of limestone. Next comes an unusually deep pronaos, likewise roofed with marble, and finally the chambers for 'healing sleep' and the cult statue; these too were longer than usual, but they were dominated by the plastic forms which we have described.

The sculptor was familiar with the Centaur pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. He has removed the godhead further from events than it is there. The women no longer defend themselves; they are simply victims, yet also have children to look after. Their lamentations and the sullenness of their opponents are nearer to studies of individual experience. Wide-stretching groups of five embrace all the variety of the happenings encompassing man. The floating draperies and

FIG. 13

FIG. 63 - *The interior of the temple of Apollo at Bassae. About 420 B.C. Cf. p. 176.*



abbreviated shields help to capture atmosphere, but without any depth, so that the powerful Dorian bodies remain vividly in the present.

Since Polygnotos there had been subsidiary motifs in the battle with the Amazons — warriors wounded or fleeing. Like the great painters of his age, the Master of Phigalia is on the lookout for new, even sentimental touches. A wounded man limps away, leaning on a friend, and another is carried away. An Amazon puts in a plea for a wounded Greek whom one of her comrades is out to despatch. Another, sinking to the ground, pleads for mercy and obtains it. The Greek beholder was better able than we are to observe corresponding details in the fighting: the Centaur biting the Lapith in the neck, a Lapith protecting himself with his shield against a horse lashing out with his hooves, a Greek pulling an Amazon from her collapsing horse. This frieze contains the first figures in European art to evoke the beholder's pity. Heracles and Hippolyta, the queen of the Amazons, back away from each other, like Poseidon and Athena in the west pediment of the Parthenon; but here the two opponents are going to hit out at each other!

The pictorial element in the style is obvious: while the classical period made the dimension of depth perceptible by plastic means, it is now often indicated by overlaps that give an illusion of depth, like different colours. Bodies are cunningly twisted, billowing folds of drapery are bunched up, others are violently stretched to the point of tearing, and many events are hidden behind shields and drapery. Artists seek to capture the impalpable, the momentary, the individual, instead of portraying the visible norm, as they did in the period of the Parthenon. Through the wide span and the many layers of the composition man is depicted in his environment. Classical Being is replaced by a world of appearance and experience. Expressive empty spaces are left in the background of the relief, which must have made its blue colouring all the more effective. For the first time we sense the existence of supernatural realities. It was to be the task of the late classical style to give form to these in the spirit of Plato's ideas.

Xanthos Anatolian client kingdoms of the Persian empire began to flourish during the Peloponnesian War and Greek artists who could find no work in the mother country because of the war entered the service of the rulers of Lycia and Caria. The isolation of these regions in the post-antique period helped to preserve their monuments. There are many rock tombs with well-preserved façades, and also burial pillars, which usually bore sarcophagi, but sometimes supported whole temples.

FIG. 64 The most splendid of these monuments was the one at Xanthos known as the Nereid Monument, from the Nereids which probably stood between the columns. The remains are now in the British Museum. The Ionic peripteral temple on a high base had, in the Ionian fashion, a somewhat wider interval between the two middle columns of the front. The same is true of the back; this is unusual. The cella was square; there was a pronaos and an opisthodomos, but without columns between the antae. The colonnade was of the same width all round. The influence of Attic architecture is strong. The kanalis on the capitals is a double one, as in the Erechtheum, and the echinos takes the form of a woven band. The columns are relatively thick, as in the Nike temple and the one on the Ilissus. The socle has a

projecting profile at the top, like the Caryatid porch. On the other hand it was a local tradition to adorn the architrave and socle with several friezes.

The sculptural decorations are, on the whole, of Ionian luxuriance, and contain some oriental elements of representation and historical narration. On the front pediment the dead man was enthroned as a hero; his wife sat by his side, and the couple were being worshipped by their retainers. On the other pediment there were battles between men on horseback, and on the architrave hunting scenes of the sort that distinguish the sarcophagi of rulers. The architrave also showed battles and the handing over of tribute. The cella frieze showed ceremonies in honour of the dead, with a banquet and music; the big frieze on the socle depicted hoplites fighting among themselves and with men in Persian dress; and the small socle frieze showed the battle for a town, which is depicted in considerable detail. Here the soldiers advance in a close phalanx, while in the big frieze they are distributed in separate groups. In the big frieze the artist is following the tradition of sculpture; in the small frieze he is following the tradition of painting. In its dimensions and spiritual attitude the big frieze is clearly competing with the Parthenon frieze. This is an amazing testimony to the pretensions of this ruler of Xanthos. In the small frieze the scene of the massed attackers, who have laid a storming-ladder against the walls, strikes a completely new note. There must have been similar scenes in paintings even earlier; Roman triumphal reliefs follow such models. The unusual treatment of space in the view of the town at one corner of the frieze is still more novel. The construction of a big complex of buildings is achieved here with great boldness of perspective, yet the link with the flat surface is not lost. We know from several sources how much the theory of perspective occupied the Greeks in the classical period; Agatharchos of Samos receives particular praise

APPX. PL. 35

APPX. PL. 34

APPX. PL. 35

APPX. PL. 34

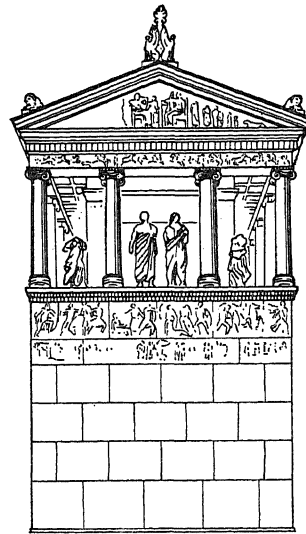


FIG. 64 — *The Nereid monument of Xanthos. Reconstruction after F. Krischen. About 420 B.C. Cf. p. 178.*

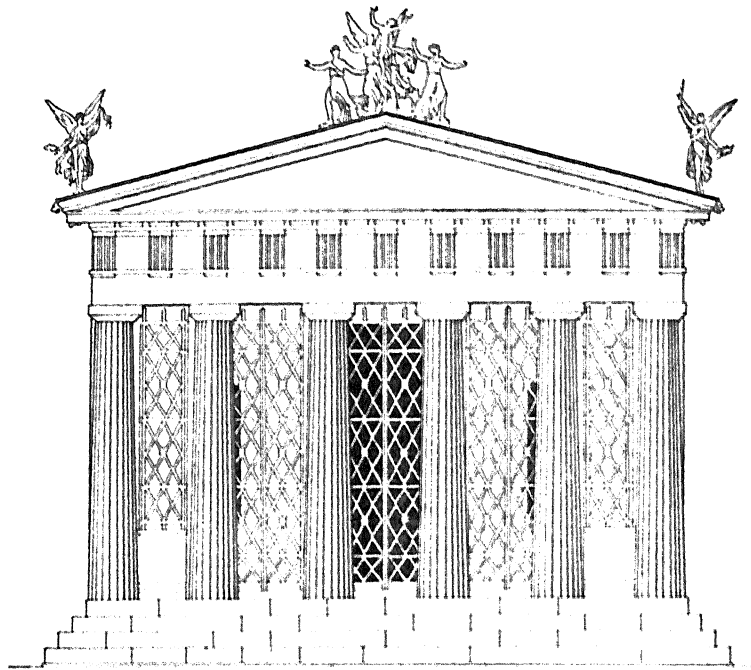


FIG. 65 — *The Athenian temple of Apollo at Delos. West front after F. Courby. About 410 B.C. Cf. p. 181.*

in this connection. But the important point is that the Greeks always employed perspective only so far as it corresponded to their feeling for any particular style. Thus in this relief the intangibility of space is carefully avoided; yet to us, since the central perspective of the Renaissance, this is self-evident. We must first accustom ourselves to the idea that central perspective is only a special case; every style has its own perspective, which symbolizes something of the spirit of the epoch in question. The spirit concerned here is that of the the classical conception of mighty presence, a conception that is intensified by the refined means of the early rich style into real experience.

The Nereids flee from Peleus, who is abducting the sea-goddess Thetis. The saga points to the immortality of the occupant of the tomb, for the sea-beings, who can live in the briny ocean, are symbols of immortality. In the structure of their bodies and in their agility the Nereids are more old-fashioned than the west pediment of the Parthenon, but in the supple union of body and drapery and in atmosphere they surpass the Nike of Paionios, which can be dated to about 420.

A still more virtuoso work was the akroterion which the Athenians dedicated in Delos a little after 410, probably at the time of Alcibiades' last victories at sea and of the Nike balustrade. The subject is Boreas abducting Oreithyia. Here a unity of figures and atmosphere reminiscent of painting is combined with supple agility of the body and a quite exceptionally ingenious loosening of the plastic substance.

FIG. 35

FIG. 61

Delos

The sculptor must have been an Ionian, probably a Parian, who was less concerned with plastic articulation: arms and neck fit on uncertainly, and the hips are obscured by the slanting draperies. He was aiming at something quite different — surrender to the glorious world around, the radiance of the sun and the invigorating North Wind (Boreas). This is a more passive feeling for nature than we find on the mainland, one that was once peculiar to the Cretan civilization. If the Nereids brought the space between the columns of the temple into ringing, swinging movement, the Oreithyia group stands out against the blue sky over a temple which, by its very position between two older ones, was aiming primarily at effect on the beholder. It was intended to remind people of Athens, the radiant centre of the maritime confederacy: hence the Attic theme of the Boreas group, the Pentelic marble, the ground-plan, with its similarity to that of the temple of Nike on the Acropolis, and the enlargement of the interior space, with which we are already familiar from the ripe classical buildings of Athens. The capitals correspond to those of the porch of the Parthenon, but they are one-eighth smaller and the columns are somewhat more slender.

The colonnade of Zeus on the west side of the market-place of Athens was probably built during the Peace of Nicias, about 420. It differed from all older colonnades in that both ends were turned to the front, so that they resembled the façades of temples. We are familiar with designs of this sort, but this one must have seemed an innovation at the time, and one no less bold than the Propylaea, with its wing buildings. Indeed, the conception received even greater emphasis than the wings of the Propylaea, for the two ends were crowned with akroteria — goddesses of

FIG. 64

FIGS. 65, 66

Athens, Colonnade of Zeus

FIG. 9

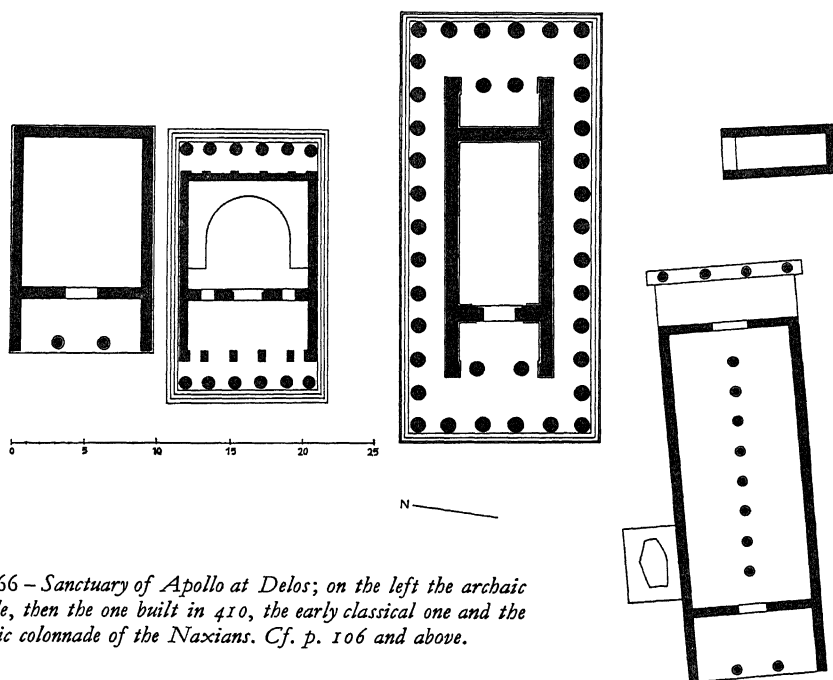


FIG. 66 — Sanctuary of Apollo at Delos; on the left the archaic temple, then the one built in 410, the early classical one and the archaic colonnade of the Naxians. Cf. p. 106 and above.

victory rushing through the air. The one that has been preserved must have been made at the time of the Nike of Paionios, although the treatment has more Attic fire and colour.

Gjölbaschi However, the most comprehensive picture of the merits and possibilities of the rich style are provided by the reliefs of the Heroon at Gjölbaschi in the Troad.

APPX. PL. 42 This tomb lies in a regal position on the top of a mountain above a limestone plateau only an hour from the sea. It is dominated by the rock of the acropolis. The friezes take into account the surrounding landscape: on the acropolis side a siege is depicted, and on the sea side a landing. Altogether the friezes are 236 yards long, and 581 figures have been preserved; only one-seventh of the work has been destroyed. The pillar grave itself, in the form of a house, stood with several sarcophagi in a precinct roughly rectangular in shape with a gate on the south side. One must imagine a grove in the precinct, and a wooden building for feasts in honour of the ruler. In the friezes I think I can recognize mythical models of the ruler's deeds and virtues, of the sort we know from choral songs, as sung at ceremonies in the Heroon. On the right of the door the most famous of the friezes shows Odysseus freeing Penelope from the attentions of the wooers, the great example of marital fidelity. Underneath follows the hunting of the Calydonian boar, the prototype of all royal hunts.

APPX. PL. 41

Outside on the south side there were battles against Amazons and Centaurs, in other words the repulse of enemies of civilized humanity, on the model of the battles with Amazons and Centaurs in the paintings of Polygnotos, and in the sculptures of the Parthenon and other buildings. The repulse of the attack of the Seven on Thebes — that sombre crime punished by Zeus — is to be understood in the same way. The east side showed deeds of Perseus and Theseus, and it also had a long Centaur frieze, which is continued on the north side. This was followed by the Dioscuri carrying off the daughters of Leucippus. On the west side there was a battle with Amazons, the siege of a town and a pitched battle. On the analogy of the other themes these too probably have a mythical interpretation; the likeliest solution is that they refer to battles for Troy. The Amazons may be the ones defeated by Bellerophon.

APPX. PL. 41, 37

The dating of the work is important because it is the most comprehensive monument of the rich style preserved and gives a many-sided picture of its merits and possibilities. Its Attic origin is immediately recognizable from the figure of Penelope, so reminiscent of the maidens of the Erechtheum. But we are at a different stage in the style. The play of opposing forces in the structure of the korai has given way, as in the record relief of 398, to a momentary appearance before us; the correspondence of moving free leg and left arm and the inclination of the head are characteristic. The aim is no longer accurate anatomy but the rich beauty of the fleeting appearance, the gentle breath of life.

APPX. PL. 33

FIG. 32

In his famous picture at Plataea Polygnotos had shown Odysseus *after* his punishment of the suitors, for the severe style sought the portentous moment, pregnant with destiny, before or after the event. We know from the skyphos of the Penelope painter how the ripe classical style turned once again to the event itself and in this instance mirrored the effect of the deed in the inner emotion of the maids. The

sculptor of Gjölbaschi goes even further in psychological delineation. His models must have been picture books in which the discoveries of large-scale painting were spread abroad. The content of the picture is no longer concentrated in a few harmoniously disposed figures; for the first time the individual comes fully into his own in a wide context of space and time. With this come possibilities which in the Latin West's use of space were to subordinate the individual to supra-personal circumstances. The first splendid examples of this are the Odyssey landscapes in the Vatican, and the first model for such pictures was Vergil's *Aeneid*. At Gjölbaschi the hero is still predominant, in the Greek fashion; it is significant that Penelope is distinguished from the other figures by her height and beauty, and Odysseus by his height and gestures. These two are cast in the mould of Homer, although this scene does not occur in the Odyssey. The artist responds to the poet with the wonderful variety of his inventions, without merely illustrating him; he creates something new in the spirit of the poet.

For the most important picture, the siege of the city which we may surmise to be Troy, two friezes are linked together. The city has seven towers and two gates with pointed arches. On the slab showing the ruler forms mass and shadows deepen. To the left a bearded warrior prays before a temple which can be seen on the next slab to the left; one thinks of Hector, shield of the city. He is wearing a helmet with a winged ornament; a youthful comrade-in-arms is sacrificing a ram. The contrast between the dignified group and the wealth of happenings gives the whole a significant centre. A squatting servant leads over to the right, then follows the panther under the throne of the king, and beside the latter stands a squire wearing a Phrygian cap. According to his expression and the inclination of his head, the figure probably representing Priam is old. To the right we can make out the queen under her sunshade, with a female attendant, almost facing us on her throne. She makes us think of Helen, the radiant beauty, cause of the war and centre of events. This combination of figures is so unusual that it is sufficient in itself to confirm the interpretation of the scene as the struggle for Troy.

The importance of these friezes long went unrecognized. People regarded them as provincial and did not notice that they are close to the large-scale painting of the rich style, and thus give us our best opportunity of forming some idea of the work of Zeuxis and Parrhasios. Here the aim is not, as it was at the height of the classical period, the expressive outline, but a lively surface; not clear articulation, but the variety of overlaps; not tranquil Being but a beautiful appearance, abundance of life and the wealth of exceptional situations and experiences.

Events are no longer tragically compressed in a few individual figures but painted on a large scale with many figures and depicted rhetorically with all kinds of new turns; every individual detail has to form part of an all-embracing context. To the sinister mood in the hall filled with dying suitors we can apply what Wölfflin says of the picturesque style: 'Sensitivity now probes beyond the tangible present into the realm of the intangible; the picturesque style is the first to see beauty in the incorporeal.' These discoveries made by the rich style are not lost in the late classical style, for it achieves a synthesis of the values of sculpture and painting; it combines the magic of the intangible with the perfection of physical beauty.

APPX. PL. 42

IV. THE LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD

PLATES PP. 153,
156, 167, 171, 173

APPX. PL. 46, 47

APPX. PL. 59

The second golden age of classical sculpture in the fourth century B.C. stands much the same relationship to the first golden age in the fifth century as the work of Raphael to that of the masters of Strasbourg, Bamberg and Naumburg; it is thus a genuinely classical period. The term 'late classical' is not intended to imply that it ranks any lower than the earlier period. As we shall see, it brings to perfection much that was adumbrated in the mature classical age, and for all later epochs it sums up everything that is understood by the word 'classical'. In the rich style the idea is submerged in the splendour of the language and the enjoyment of its formal possibilities. In the late classical period idea and form are in equilibrium. Plato's sharp criticism of pictorial art is directed at the rich style. He misses in it what the later classical style achieves at a new level: obedience to a norm and inner cohesion. That is why he demands for his state a conservative art like that of Egypt; that is, an archaizing art that in fact did appear again as a subsidiary stream of the late classical style. But the great late classical artists answered Plato's criticism in a different way by creating their own style. They made the Greek vision a timeless one and thereby assured us of its eternal presence. To the question, 'what ought we to do?', which occupies Greek thinkers from Socrates onwards, they reply by turning their gaze on ideas which give life meaning and direction. They complete the work begun by Pheidias, that of creating archetypes of divinity, and these archetypes have lasted for centuries as models. Contemporaries and succeeding generations were more influenced by a statue of Zeus probably made about 370 B.C. by Leochares for Olympia than they were by the Zeus of Pheidias. The gods are freed from local conditions and appear in Homeric dignity and universality, in blissful rapture, as Winckelmann described them in his appraisal of the Apollo in the Belvedere. While the age of the Sophists and of the rich style had been sceptical towards the old religiosity, the best men now understand the old beliefs in a new way, by connecting them with the Ideas. In the *Republic*, Plato calls the laws of religion the fundamental ones, the highest and grandest ones.

Late classical harmony is not at work in the world like the harmony of the mature classical style; it has retired into a quiet, contemplative existence. It does not possess the weighty earnestness of the age of tragedy; it corresponds to the idea of philosophy and the models celebrated by the orators. The fifth century has seen the perfection of tragedy; the fourth is the century of the polished prose of the orators and philosophers. The orators Demosthenes and Isocrates are just as important as the philosophers Plato and Aristotle. Isocrates formulated the idea of Greek culture and summoned the Greeks into battle against the Persians; he laid the spiritual foundations for the deeds of Philip of Macedon and Alexander the Great. Demosthenes inspired the Athenians by the example of their forefathers to preserve their democracy, although it was in danger from the growing strength of the Macedonian monarchy. This democracy came to an honourable end at the

battle of Chaeronea in 338, but in art, philosophy and oratory it achieved a form that has outlived all external reverses.

The firmly grounded world of the older art had formed a basis for living; its traditions are now enjoyed and extolled, pondered and investigated, and comprehensively expounded by Aristotle. The essence of Greek culture is expressed and comprehended in classic language. Art makes its contribution to this process. Artists compete all over Hellas to see and model the old gods afresh in gold and ivory, marble and bronze. Many Attic artists — Leochares, Praxiteles, Skopas, Bryaxis — are involved in this work. The classical Acropolis of Athens acts as a radiant model.

Not only statues of the gods and temples but also the external framework of life receives classical form. Stone theatres are built. In the century of tragedy only new plays had been performed; now works by the famous tragic poets are revived. These too reminded people of the deeds of their forefathers. In the Peloponnesian War Athens had suffered heavily and lost most of her allies. Nevertheless, the thrifty, clever statesman Lysurgus found the means to build an expensive marble auditorium for the theatre of Dionysus at Athens. The attitude of mind in which the plays of the three great Attic tragic poets were performed again there is demonstrated by the portrait statues of them set up in the theatre; that of Sophocles is the best preserved.

As well as the theatres, the other public buildings, the squares and the city walls were given a stately appearance of simple dignity which remained a model for centuries. The size of the fortifications is typical of a middle-class culture to which the old warlike existence has become alien and which prefers to defend itself with armies of mercenaries rather than with levies of citizens. Private life is still very modest, but people no longer give everything to the state. They allow themselves a certain luxury in tombstones at any rate. This change had begun after the Peace of Nicias in 421 and was hardly arrested by the renewal later of the Peloponnesian War. The private house too, like public buildings, assumed the form that was to remain the normal one for succeeding ages, with the colonnaded courtyard or peristyle and the pebble mosaics in the best rooms, which were intended for feasting and for Dionysus, the lord of the feast. We know such houses best from the American excavations at Olynthus in the Chalcidice. The very much richer palaces in the neighbouring Macedonian town of Pella presuppose a sociological transformation. They must have belonged to officers of Alexander the Great. From his campaigns they brought home the wealth of the East and an attitude of mind far removed from the old Greek modesty in private life.

The late classical style is closely bound up with the history of Athens, even its political history. It begins in the years in which the second Attic maritime confederacy was founded (377) and ends more or less with the death of Alexander the Great (323). The new Attic confederacy was not a new creation like the first, which Themistocles had founded after the Persian Wars, but an attempt, like so much else in the late classical period, to emulate the example of days gone by. By 354 it was limited to Euboea and the smaller islands and by 338 it had broken up completely. However, in spite of the defeat of Chaeronea Athens retained her

FIG. 9 BELOW
RIGHT

PLATE P. 171

APPX. PL. 58, 67

freedom and importance until 322, when she came under Macedonian rule. In art, dissonances announcing the Hellenistic style can be traced a little earlier. Once again record reliefs provide reliable pieces of evidence. Demetrius of Phaleron, put into power by the Macedonians in 317, forbade expensive tombstones; that was the end of Attic grave reliefs. None of them seems to be later than the statue of Aeschines, which dates from about 315, or the Heracles Farnese, which is earlier than 308.

The temporal limits of the late classical style which we have established on the basis of art and history naturally cannot be applied without any reservations to other regions. The rich style lasted longer in other areas, especially Magna Graecia. But on the whole Athens occupied such a leading position in art that the stylistic change in Attic art can also serve as a point of reference for the chronology of the history of art in other regions too.

BASES OF CHRONOLOGY

APPX. PL. 69

The sources for the history of late classical art are fuller than those for any other period of Greek art. We possess a larger number of dated monuments and a richer literary tradition. It is due to deficiencies in our method of dealing with the history of art that much in the historical development of the style still remains obscure, and that it can still be disputed whether an important work like the portrait of Euripides dates from the beginning or from the middle of the fourth century. Our most important reference points are the dated record reliefs. They form a uniform *genre*, and changes in style can always be most easily appreciated in one particular *genre*. These works by craftsmen form a continuous background with which we can compare the large-scale individual works, which use the prevailing artistic possibilities more freely and are therefore more difficult to arrange in a logical sequence.

APPX. PL. 50

When Ludwig Curtius published the most beautiful of the marble lekythoi in Munich in 1911, he saw that it must belong to the same period as the relief of the treaty between Athens and Corcyra, which was dated 375, and that both works marked the beginning of a new style dawning like a new day. On the left-hand side of the record relief sits a bearded man, Demos, the personification of the people of Athens. He gazes with quiet dignity at the two divine women before him, the Nymph of the isle of Corcyra, who stands before him like a goddess from the height of the classical period in a peplos with a short fold, and Athena, who with her left hand holds up her spear and with her right points to the ground. Demos too has lowered his right hand, to confirm the oath before the subterranean powers. The meaning of the treaty is thus made visible in the simplest and most definite way. The nymph Corcyra, in her dignified peplos, recalls figures from the height of the classical period; the late classical style refers again and again to the models of the great age of the Parthenon and of Pericles. But the stylistic treatment is quite new, as a comparison with the Eurydice of the Orpheus relief will show. There the folds serve a powerful, two-dimensional structure; here they are scantier and run with the lines of the body, whose movement is freer. The upper part of the body turns a little out of the plane towards Demos, before whom the Nymph graciously unveils herself. Her left arm, propped on the back of the hand, emphasizes still further the free-standing liberation from the plane surface.

FIG. 52

It was still bolder to show Athena in a cloak instead of in the usual peplos with a

long fold. Timotheos had introduced the cloak for Athena shortly before. The cloak collects the figure in a unified movement, so that the glance is led round the figure, as it were, and a totally new relationship to space arises. The clear articulation with the expressive outlines helps to produce an atmospheric effect, a mood of timeless transfiguration. This relationship to space has been called attributive, because the space remains subordinate to the figure. It is not until the Hellenistic period that there is tension between the figure and the space, and not until Roman times that space acquires an independent meaning. The harmoniously balanced stance recalls that of the mature classical period. The momentary, individual motifs sought after by the rich style disappear. But through the spatial element the classically balanced ponderation acquires a consecration which forms a counterweight to the new flexibility: the equilibrium between Being and Time which characterizes the classical style is regained on a higher plane. The new style is plastically linear, like that of the mature classical period. However, it expresses itself not just in two dimensions but in the plasticity characteristic of the Renaissance, so that one often forgets the difference: in the classical style space remains subordinate, attributive, while in the Renaissance it is the dominating element, in the Roman fashion.

Demos has been taken for Zeus, because the figure enthroned on the relief of 362 recording the treaty between Athens and states in the Peloponnese holds the thunderbolt, which marks him out as Zeus. But in this case Zeus, as the great god of the Peloponnese, has a special significance; the sculptor had the Zeus of Olympia by Pheidias in mind. Our Demos, on the other hand, holds no attribute; he just sits on a rock and shows by his gesture of swearing that he is a partner to the treaty. On other record reliefs there are similar figures which can only be taken as Demos.

The relief of 362 shows us where the intensification of the plastic form leads to next. Although the relief is so shallow, the spatial appearance of the figures is broader and fuller than it is on the relief of 375; they can now unfold in the newly won plastic depth, but still retain a certain simplicity; they still lack the fullness and splendour which the late classical style acquires around 350 in the sculptures of the Mausoleum and the oldest drums of the columns of the temple of Artemis at Ephesus. The fine record relief of 355 from Apollonia in honour of Lachares is already near to these large scale works. On the right sits Apollo — particularly venerated in Lachares' native district — on the omphalos; beside him stands a goddess, who probably personifies Apollonia, and to the left, a little in front of her, Athena is occupied in crowning Lachares, whose figure has broken off, except for the tip of a cloak. A new plastic concentration, which produces a more statuesque effect than the broad unfolding of the sixties, is now combined with the spatial development. The limbs are so plastically modelled that the body stands erect in a new fashion; the contrast produced by the expression of the bent head is therefore all the more profound.

We possess four replicas, obviously all Roman, of a marble throne which shows on the front a winged god with a beard ending in tendrils and on the sides lion-griffins, in other words a Dionysus in a strange orientalized form. The style of the

PLATE P. 16

APPX. PL. 49

APPX. PL. 49

APPX. PL. 49

PLATE P. 209

APPX. PL. 53

PLATE P. 16

APPX. PL. 51

acanthus and the closed, late classical, attributive spatiality refute the attempt to date the work to the early Hellenistic period. The inscription is to be taken as referring to the archon Kallistratos, who held office in 355/4. The work is a characteristic example of the archaizing intensification of the numinous which reminds us of Plato's demand for a hieratic art.

APPX. PL. 52

APPX. PL. 51

The second half of the century reaps the harvest of growing spatial expansion. Thus the shrine of the record relief of 347/6 is deeper than that of the Lachares relief, and the three princes of the Cimmerian Bosphorus whom the relief honours sit on their thrones or stand like sculptures in the round. South Russia was late classical Athens' most important trading partner; that is why most late classical vases have been found there. The main figures are placed slightly aslant, and in the decade around 340 the composition gradually opens up towards the front, in a new intensification of the effect. The heads have more volume than before, with a supple surface and lines that permeate the space.

APPX. PL. 55, 56

The full opening up of the composition to the front is typical of the thirties, as is shown by dated Panathenaic amphoras and the record stele of 336. The latter contains a decree of the people intended to avert the danger of the democracy being overthrown by a tyrant; thus in spite of the defeat of Chaeronea in 338 it was directed against Macedonia and was meant to prevent what in fact actually happened after the death of Alexander the Great with the assumption of power by Demetrius. It is perhaps characteristic that such a modest stonemason was entrusted with the job of carving the relief; public expenditure was cut down, although people spent plenty of money on ostentatious private graves. At any rate, the rhetorical mode of expression, which has replaced the more delicate one on older record reliefs is up-to-date: democracy crowns the solemnly enthroned Demos and both are shown frontally. There are few grave reliefs with full frontal views that can be dated before 330. When the fortifications of Athens were quickly strengthened before the battle of Chaeronea in 338, all the cemetery terraces were used as quarries for the city walls and the tombstones were buried; it may be assumed that people hesitated for some years after that to erect costly new grave-stones.

APPX. PL. 49, 50

APPX. PL. 57, 58

APPX. PL. 56

The change to the Hellenistic style can be clearly seen if one puts side by side reliefs from the years 329 and 323. On the older relief the two men whom it honours approach Bendis, the Thracian Artemis, and her companion in an attitude of prayer; on the later relief the man being honoured has his horse led on after him and Athena is witness to the ceremony. In the thirties the classical, harmonious swing had bound the figures together even when they were placed beside each other frontally. On the relief of 323 this swing or rhythm has yielded to a surprising expressive force based on straight axes. Draperies as rigid as metal suppress the organic life rather than accompany it as they had done earlier. They are sharply marked off from the surrounding space; this is the beginning of the opposition between sculpture and space that distinguishes the Hellenistic style. Only the front half of the horse is shown. The picture is no longer self-contained as it was earlier but simply a section of infinite space. All this is felt as truth, as opposed to the all too harmonious classical style; the artist seeks, as Lysippos put it, the momentary



PLATE 39 - Victory of Alexander the Great; marble sarcophagus of the last king of Sidon. Pentelic marble. About 330 B.C. *Constantinople*. Height 6 ft. 6 in. Cf. p. 190.

appearance instead of classical Being. Man grows lonely in a world immeasurably expanded by Alexander the Great. Not only political changes are behind the new artistic attitude but also Aristotle's abandonment of Plato's theory of Ideas and above all the Stoic doctrine of the inexorable law of the world to which the individual must adapt himself. It is amazing how quickly these changes of mental attitude are reflected even in votive reliefs, among which the one under discussion is distinguished, it is true, by its particularly high quality.

On other contemporary reliefs there is something representative, emphatic in the way the figures are ranged side by side, yet the new style is not entirely understood. The relief of 329 does not yet show this break up of the classical rhythm, but there are hints of the new style in that the divinities, for all their rhythmical construction,

APPX. PL. 57

PLATE P. 227
APPX. PL. 66, 65

PLATE P. 189

FIGS. 72, 73

APPX. PL. 54

APPX. PL. 67

have little reference to each other. The end of the classical period can be sensed in the mannered slenderness, the smallness of the heads and the somewhat jerky inclination of the head — features that we meet again in the *Hermes* of Praxiteles and the *Apoxyomenos* of Lysippos, and also in the delicate votive relief in Eleusis that reproduces a group of Praxiteles' cult statues.

The sarcophagus with scenes from the life of Alexander the Great must immediately precede this stylistic phase. It was made for the last king of Sidon, the one put on the throne by Alexander. It is the purest example of late classical polychromy; the swing of all the movements, too, and their spatiality are still unbroken. All this is still not far from the style of the temple of Tegea. In Constantinople one can compare the Satrap and Lycian sarcophagi in the rich style and that of the mourning women in the ripe late classical style, all from the same cemetery, and the only sign of the end of the classical period that one finds is the staccato nature of small motifs on the Alexander sarcophagus. At the same time one notices how the influence of Attic models becomes more and more marked.

The same is true of terracottas, the most delicate of which — the best known are those from Tanagra — also belong to the age of Alexander. The native element is more evident in silver and bronze work, in the limestone reliefs and terracotta appliques from graves at Tarentum and in the reliefs of bronze mirrors from Corinth. But at Athens, too, classical toreutics flourished right down to the time of Alexander. A number of the mirrors which have been described as Chalcidian seem in fact to be Attic, and metal reliefs from northern Greece and South Russia, including scenes from the life of the Scythians, are at least influenced by Attic art.

A grandiose bronze volute crater with applied silver decoration found in 1961 near Salonika, a work of the mature period round 340, bears on its body a Dionysian frieze and on its shoulders plastic figures of Satyrs and Maenads. The convincing way in which they are connected to the vessel recalls Michelangelo, but here too plastic freedom distinguished the late classical style from the architectonic bond of the Renaissance.

A still clearer perception of the end of the classical style can be gained from a consideration of the grave relief from the Ilissus, which (like the well-known base showing the Muses from Mantinea) can be dated between the record reliefs of 329 and 323. It must be the work of one of the first masters of the new style, possibly Skopas. The classical rhythm has yielded to an early Hellenistic principle of construction: the forms are marked off from the space in blocks and the motifs give the effect of sections of a continuum that could be extended indefinitely. A characteristic detail is the grave pillar on a base with two steps (below, left). Its slanting position emphasizes the cubic element, and the little servant who has fallen asleep there as he mourns is also firmly compressed. His master must have had both hands propped on a hunting spear, and the verticals are still further emphasized by the wooden missile for hare-hunting that hung on his left forearm. It is these verticals that carry the composition, not the body, which leans in a tired way against the pillar. The body of the old father, who has approached from the right, is only well enough preserved for us to see that he was completely wrapped in the cloak and leaned on the stick in his left hand. The vertical axis is continued by his

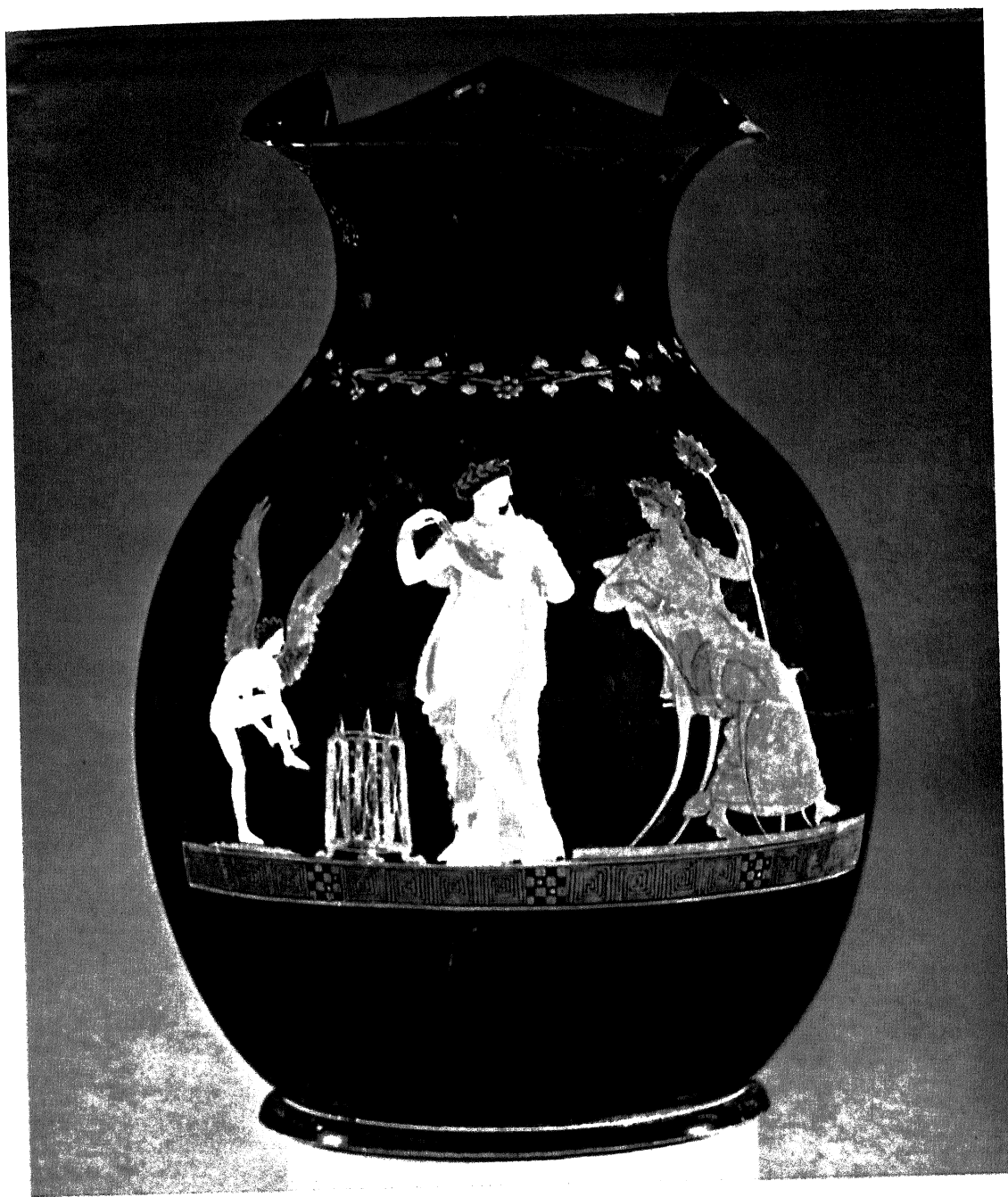


PLATE 40 -- Pompe, the personification of the festal procession, before Dionysus. Jug by the Helena painter. About 350 B.C. New York, Metropolitan Museum. Height $9\frac{1}{2}$ in. Cf. pp. 192, 194.

right forearm, with the hand resting in grief on his chin, and even by the profile of the head. The verticals not only build the composition but also divide the mourner from his vision, the dead man, who in his nakedness recalls a hero of mythology, the Meleager of Skopas. The only things that connect the two realms are the hound sniffing about at the bottom and the old man's deep gaze at the top; these are the only horizontals in the picture. How much this work moved contemporaries, too, is demonstrated by the existence of several variations on it, in which, however, the new style is less consistently understood. It is amazing what a large number of Athenian grave reliefs from the age of Alexander have been preserved; some, like the Ilissus one, surpass all earlier ones in splendour. In the face of a changing world Athens defended her values in her own way.

PAINTING
PLATE P. 191

In the late classical period the Attic potteries produced all too much work of lesser value, but also a few vases that are among the most beautiful that we possess. New markets became important: Cyrenaica, northern Greece and above all South Russia. Late classical Attic vases are known as Kerch vases, from the place in South Russia where many of them have been found. There was an artistic reason as well as an economic one for the resurgence of vase-painting. The late classical style was well suited to the graphic character of vase-painting. In the rich style sparsely articulated contours had enclosed coloured surfaces which were differentiated only by layers of fine parallel strokes and other means peculiar to painting. The paintings had no relation to the plastic quality of the vessel. In the late classical style outlines and details within them are rendered in relief. The lines have a modelling force and the clear plasticity of the figures combines with that of the vessels. Indeed, artists go so far as to enhance the relief effect by laying on white, gold, blue and red, and sometimes they go over to real relief work.

PLATE P. 156

A woman who personifies the festal procession itself (Pompe, inscription) has entered the sanctuary of Dionysus, put down the sacrificial basket and looks shyly at the god, who turns — a living cult statue — towards her. What is between them is personified by Eros, who stirs his golden wings on the left. The bold invention may have been stimulated by the Holy Marriage of King Archon's wife to the god; but what is more important is that the artist now seeks an archetype of precious, perfect simplicity, not a myth, as at the height of the classical period, nor an unusual fairy-tale situation, as in the rich style. Praxiteles' Aphrodite and Hermes are to be understood in a similar way. We feel nearer to the ideas, the origin of things, and we recall the praise of Timanthes: that there were insights which went beyond what can be experienced through the senses.

APPX. PL. 62
PLATE P. 227

Other rich sources, besides vases, for the two-dimensional art of the late classical period are engraved mirrors and ivory veneers of great beauty. Many of the mirrors are Corinthian and thus suggest that the late classical style may have originated in the northern Peloponnese. There we have already met Timanthes of the famous Sicyon school of painting, and in the age of Alexander the most celebrated painter of all, the Ionian Apelles, was to join this school. In the early fourth century the leaders of the school were Pamphilos and Melanthios. The former wrote about painting, as Polykleitos had about sculpture, and may therefore be regarded as one of the founders of artistic theory. He is said to have brought painting in wax to its

FIG. 50



PLATE 41 — Paris abducts Helen.
Wall-painting from the House of
the Tragic Poet, Pompeii. About
75 A.D. Based on an original of
about 350 B.C. Naples. *Height 4 ft.*
3¹/₂ in. Cf. p. 196.

PLATE P. 191

PLATE P. 136

PLATES PP.

120, 125, 128

highest pitch of development; this was a process which immensely enhanced the glaze and brilliance of the colours. This sort of painting, like that on the oinochoe just discussed, was less concerned with shades and nuances than with the quality of the colours. It was at this same time that Plato was rejecting illusionistic painting. The leaders of the Sicynian school stand in the same relationship to Attic painting as Polykleitos to Pheidias. Their strength lies not so much in power of invention as in mastery of the most difficult artistic problems. Just as Polykleitos discovered the law of mature classicism, harmonious ponderation, so the artists of Sicyn discovered the law of late classicism, the harmonious arrangement of the figure in space. Melanthios too wrote about painting. He demanded of art a certain wilfulness (*anthadeia*) and dryness (*skerotes*). The former – firm persistence – was praised in the heroes of Sophocles: it is an ideal that is in sharp contrast with the softness and pliability of the rich style. It is thus not surprising that Sicynian painting was called chrestographia – ‘good painting’ – and that drawing lessons were introduced in the school at Sicyn; in fact painters were required to have a knowledge of mathematics and geometry. In the whole history of art there is no other example of such a conscious and successful renewal.

Euphranor of the Isthmus (from Cnidus?) is extolled by the ancient writers as a versatile artist of the late classical period. He was both painter and sculptor, worked both in metal and marble, and also produced small scale works: there were chased cups by Euphranor. He also wrote on symmetry and the use of colour. Pliny calls him ‘an exceptionally active teacher and artist, distinguished in every branch of art, who produced work of consistent merit’. Quintilian compares his versatility with that of Cicero and says he was the first to portray heroes in their true dignity. Euphranor was particularly well known to the Athenians from his wall-paintings in the colonnade of Zeus in the market place of Athens. These included a picture of a cavalry battle between Athenians and Thebans in 362. Pliny gives the same *floruit* for Euphranor as for Praxiteles, 364/1, and that fits in with this picture. Other paintings showed Theseus with Demokratia and Demos – figures we know from contemporary record reliefs – and the twelve Olympian gods; the portrait of Poseidon was particularly famous. Theseus was probably like the figure in the picture of the liberated Athenian children at Herculaneum: a hero with a majesty never seen before. The secret lay in the new atmospheric lightness of bearing and glance, which can still be sensed even in the Roman copy. But the majesty came also from the big head on the slender limbs, proportions which – according to the literary tradition – were characteristic of Euphranor’s work. These proportions seemed all the more striking to contemporaries because they were so different from those of Lysippos, who put small heads on powerful torsos. It was said of Parrhasios’ Theseus in the rich style that he was nourished on roses, but of Euphranor’s that he was nourished on beef. One can understand what people meant if one looks at a vase-painting in the rich style.

The ancient historians of art are unanimous in asserting that in the age of Alexander the Great Greek painting reached its highest point. It is the period of the loveliest of the Kerch vases and most Roman copies of large-scale pictures can also be traced back to originals painted at this time. The sublimity of the late classical

APPX. PL. 50, 56

APPX. PL. 66

PLATE P. 156

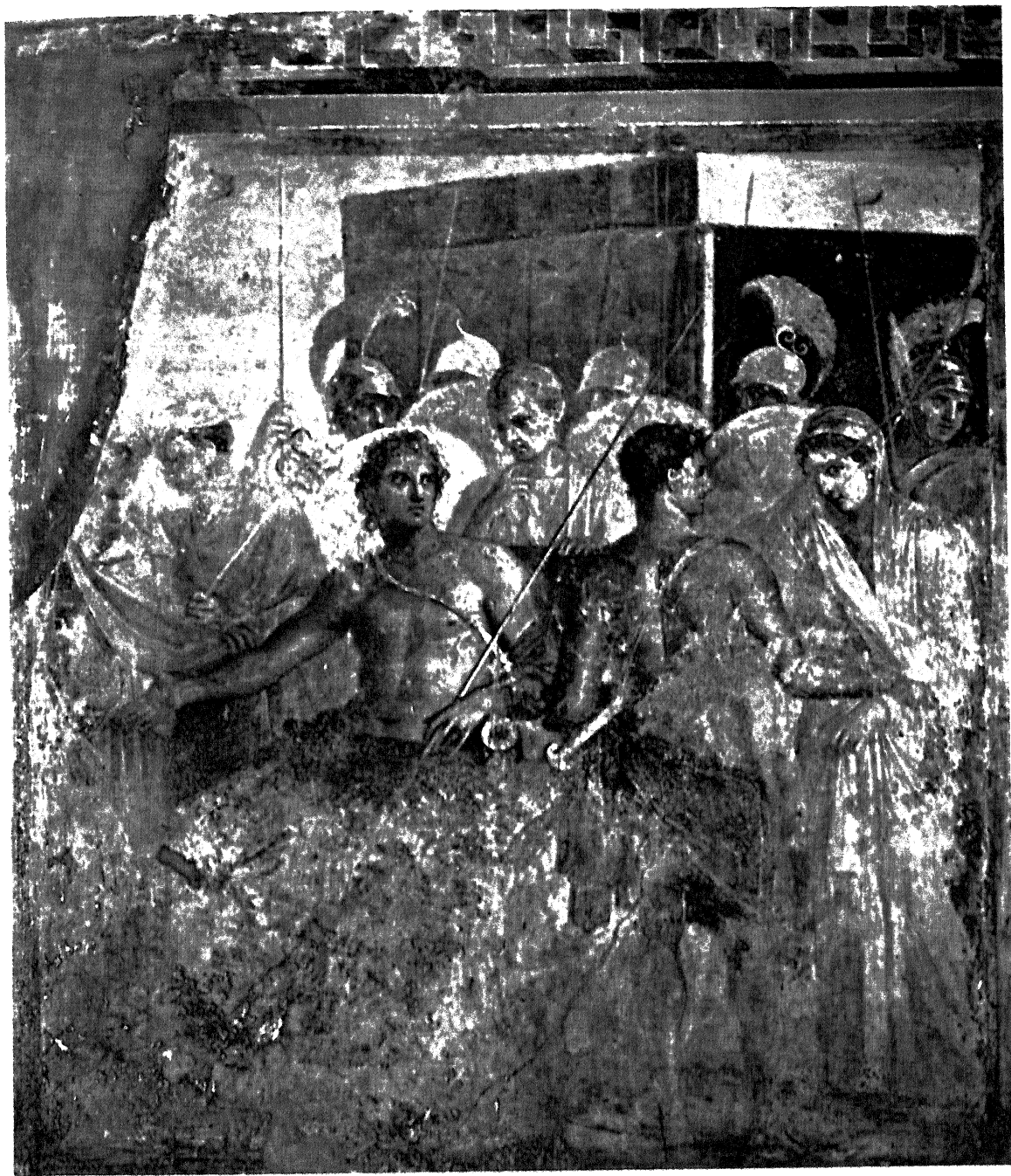


PLATE 42 — Achilles releases Briseis. Wall painting from the House of the Tragic Poet in Pompeii. About 75 A.D., based on an original of about 325 B.C. *Naples. Height 4 ft. 3 1/2 in. Cf. p. 196.*

PLATE P. 191

style was joined by the joy in discovery which marked the beginning of the Hellenistic period; the two factors together gave painting entirely new tasks and possibilities. Unfortunately only a few copies can be traced back to originals by definite painters, but it is permissible to connect the most splendid pictures with the most famous masters.

PLATE P. 193

Only the left half of the picture of Helen has come down to us in good copies. Helen is just about to take the last fateful step from her native land. On the right one can make out the remains of the stern and gangway of the ship, where, in a weaker reproduction of the same picture, the figure of Paris can also be recognized. Helen's timidity is in sharp contrast with the diligent assistance of the servant, the pert gaze of the little maid, who spies Paris on the ship, and the wonder of the warriors. The moment is not yet emphasized by dissonant contrasts, as it is in the early Hellenistic period, but made eternal; peaceful arches round off the timeless scene. It is as if the time when the fate of Helen and of Troy was decided had been made to stand still. The colours shade delicately from the warm ones of life of the brighter ones of supernatural light. The bluish tints of the more aristocratic garments stand out from the homely green of the servant's cloak as Helen's attitude does from that of the people with her.

This painting suggests not so much the hand of Euphranor as that of the most famous Attic painter of this period, Nikias of Athens. To him can be attributed two pictures preserved in less good Roman copies and mentioned by Pliny: Io, the beloved of Zeus, watched over by Argos, and Andromeda, freed by Perseus. They can be dated to the time which Pliny gives as Nikias' *floruit* (332), and this fits in with the information that Praxiteles valued most highly those of his own statues which had been coloured by one Nikias. That this 'colouring' involved finely shaded modelling and articulation is clear from the Alexander sarcophagus – the best preserved example of such coloration – and from a statement of Quintilian's. Pliny also tells us that by modelling with light and shade Nikias made the figures stand out; this fits in with the late classical style's partiality for relief as opposed to the illusionistic approach of the rich style. We are also informed that Nikias not only charmed people with his portraits of handsome young men and women but also went in for big compositions full of incident, such as cavalry battles and sea fights.

PLATE P. 189

The highest reputations of all were enjoyed by Apollonios, to whom the central group in the Aldobrandine Marriage may go back – Nikomachos, Protogenes and Apelles. I should like to think that Apelles was responsible for the original of the best copy that we possess of a Greek painting, the Release of Briseis by Achilles, for the hero is seen here with such a fresh and inspired eye, and is so like Alexander the Great, that the painting must be the work of one of the very greatest masters. Apelles was the only artist whom Alexander allowed to paint him from life, and he

PLATE P. 195

PLATE 43 – Europa(?). Woman picking flowers, from a wall in Stabiae. About 50 A.D.; based on an original of about 340 B.C. *Naples. Height 12 1/2 in. Cf. p. 198.*



is supposed to have painted Zeus so vividly that the thunderbolt seemed to leap out of the picture, like the hero's gaze here.

Achilles lets Briseis go, and she is led from the tent by Patroclus towards Agamemnon's heralds, who stand on the left. Achilles is not angry, as he is in Homer; he bows with a sweeping gesture to necessity, which is reflected in the severe axes of the picture. His attitude corresponds to the Stoic philosophy's conception of fate: the wise man does not resist necessity; he accepts it, even when it is bitter. Achilles' head is emphasized by the background of the bright shield, by the gaze of his helmeted companions, and by the old tutor looking at him in concern. Unfortunately the copyists have given Briseis a slightly coquettish look, but the ideal tonality of the Greek colours is well conveyed — this yellow and blue, dull gold and silver, violet and purplish-brown. Much is shown only in an abbreviated form, so that what is important stands out all the more.

PLATE P. 197

This mode of painting was praised in the early Hellenistic masters (Nikomachos, Philoxenos). Apelles was famed for the expressive power of his back views, as exemplified even more clearly in the *Girl Plucking Flowers* from Stabiae. The movement inward into the picture suggests the imminent disappearance of the heroine, who is probably Europa. The perfection of line also recalls Apelles, who is supposed to have said 'Nulla dies sine linea' and to have practised drawing with ceaseless industry. Once when he visited Protogenes but did not find him at home he drew a delicate line on a panel prepared for painting and departed. When Protogenes returned he recognized Apelles' line at once. Apelles used to say that Protogenes was superior to himself in everything but *charis*, grace. This grace and modesty are nowhere more in evidence than in this Europa: the delicate, light being in white and gold is made to stand out from the quiet background with wonderful simplicity, and the sublimity of the picture is enhanced by the pale blue tones in the drapery. Apelles' most famous picture, Aphrodite just risen from the sea, must have been just as graceful.

SCULPTURE
AND
ARCHITECTURE
*The tholos of
Delphi*

PLATE P. 199

The late classical period had a particular liking for the round building, which corresponded better than the old temple shapes to its partiality for depth of plastic form. Like the late classical figure, the circular building can be surrounded by a uniform envelope of space; indeed, round the Aphrodite of Cnidus by Praxiteles a circular building without walls seems to have consolidated this envelope of space still further, like a marble baldachin. There is a copy of this statue in its circular building in Hadrian's villa at Tivoli, and it is depicted in Roman wall paintings.

The now partly reconstructed circular building at Delphi was the work of one Theodoros, who is also supposed to have written a book on his carefully proportioned masterpiece. People were conscious of the special significance of this creation. A ring of twenty Doric columns ran round the circular cella, which had a diameter of 28 feet 8 inches; the height to the sima or gutter is almost the same, 27 feet 9 inches. The twenty ridges of the flutes in the Doric columns correspond to the total number of columns in the colonnade, so that each column repeats the ground plan of the whole building. Inside the cella the twenty Doric columns were echoed by ten Corinthian columns, one on the radius of every other intercolumnation. They stood directly against the wall and broke it up atmospherically with the



PLATE 44 - Circular temple at Delphi. About 490 B.C. Cf. p. 198.



movement of their forms, but in a simple, restrained way. This can be seen best from the capitals, whose stocky necking is encircled by two rows of small acanthus-leaves, below tight S-volutes and palmettes. The most direct impression of the fine, delicately measured work is provided by the well-preserved foot of the wall with its Lesbian kyma and the noble cut of the orthostates. The Pentelic marble of the building contrasts with the dark Eleusinian limestone of the floor of the cella and the bench on which the columns stand. The coloration recalls Iktinos, and so does the carving of all the metopes, both the big outside ones and the small inside order over the cella wall. Although the background of the relief is missing, it can be said that the composition of the metopes relied far more on the reciprocal attitude and corporeality of the partners than in the rich style. One does not expect here any arrangement in layers like a painting, fluttering draperies, or the even filling of the field of the picture. The chitoniskos (short frock) clings tightly to the slender limbs, even if the sparing lines and plasticity of the Corcyra relief are not yet quite attained. Everywhere one senses the lightness and aspiration of a fresh start.

The transition to the new style can be observed still better at Epidaurus, where about 375 the first temple dedicated to Asclepius, the god of healing, highly venerated at this time, was erected in his most splendid sanctuary. The date can only be deduced from the style, but we are informed about the execution of the work by some particularly well-preserved building accounts. In comparison with the big porticos for healing sleep, with the palaestra, the hostel, the theatre and the stadium, the temple was certainly small, but the whole complex was the dwelling-place of the god, his presence was felt all over it, and the pedimental sculptures did distinguish the temple as the noblest of the buildings, the shrine containing the gold and ivory statue. The sculptor of the statue, the Parian Thrasymedes, no longer saw the god of healing as a citizen leaning on a stick, but as solemnly seated on a throne, like Pheidias' Zeus at Olympia. Nevertheless, he knew how to give expression to the god's kindly compassion, as reproductions in relief show. As at Olympia, the impact of the statue was enhanced by a field of black marble, surrounded by a white zone, in the floor; but in contrast to Olympia there were no columns inside and no opisthodomos, so that the mighty statue completely dominated the interior of the small temple. In the absence of an opisthodomos the temple could be given shorter, more compact proportions, with only eleven columns on each side and six at each end. With proportions like these the late classical style adapts even a rectangular building to the statue and condenses, so to speak, the atmospheric envelope round the cult statue.

The temple was completed in five years under the direction of the architect Theodotos. The accounts were written down in the order in which the jobs were handed out. The first year saw the construction of a lockable and plastered work-

APPX. PL. 43

APPX. PL. 29

APPX. PL. 49

*Temple of
Asclepius at
Epidaurus:
Timotheos*

PLATE P. 200

FIG. 38

PLATE 45 - Amazon on horseback from the west pediment of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus. About 375 B.C. *Athens. Height 3 ft. Cf. p. 202.*

shop, which can only have been intended for the use of the sculptors. Soon afterwards, say the accounts, Timotheos undertook the task, for 900 drachmae, of making the *typoi*. These were probably small models of all the sculptural decorations, for Timotheos is regarded as one of the leading masters of the late classical style and the sum seems appropriate for a design; he later received a good deal more for the actual execution of the work. Hektoridas received 3010 drachmae for one pediment and Timotheos 2240 for the akroteria of the other. The name of the sculptor of this pediment has not been preserved. Probably Timotheos, as the leading sculptor, was entrusted with the front akroteria, those on the east pediment, and Hektoridas with the west pediment. One Theodotos is named as the sculptor of the akroteria on this pediment; he received 2240 drachmae — as much as Timotheos.

APPX. PL. 44

The most important fragment is from the Nike of the east akroteria, and is therefore probably the work of Timotheos himself. What is preserved is the upper part of the body with the top of the left arm, which was lowered to hold the fluttering drapery which in the swiftness of flight had blown away from the left shoulder. The right arm snatched upwards at the cloak, which bellies round the big, raised wing. The left wing pointed more towards the back, like a rudder; the right wing brakes the swift descent to earth. The unsymmetrical arrangement of the wings provokes the idea that the goddess flies like a bird. In the whole of pictorial art there is no other figure that flies so lightly, no relationship so convincing between delicate body and the wings and cloak that bear it up. The classical idea that all earthly beauty was descended from divine reality has here found its purest expression. Poseidon and Athena came down from Olympus to the Acropolis on the west pediment of the Parthenon; but what there is only known is at Epidaurus actually seen.

FIG. 61

FIG. 35

PLATE P. 200

APPX. PL. 40

APPX. PL. 44

The east pediment probably showed the capture of Troy, still depicted two-dimensionally, like a painting, after the fashion of the rich style. On the other hand the grandiose battle with Amazons on the west pediment marks the beginning of the late classical style. The central rider wears shoes and a short belted chiton. The battle-axe in her raised right hand is poised to strike an adversary before whom her horse rears. In contrast with the figure of Dexileos, who is engaged in a similar movement, the upper part of the body is so slender and roundly modelled that it creates space in the way the new style does. The tense erectness, too, differentiates the work from the rhetorical, atmospheric relief of Dexileos. The simple, generous drapery fits in with what we have discovered from the east akroterion about the style of Timotheos, but the sculptor concerned here — Hektoridas — has given the attitude more Doric strength. Owing to its similarity to the akroterion figures the Capitoline Leda has been ascribed to Timotheos. Leda jumps up to protect the swan, which has taken refuge in her lap, from the eagle of Zeus; she is all alarm at the moment of being overpowered, of encountering the supernatural. This kind of experience has never again been depicted with such purity and naturalness; how refined in comparison is Bernini's Saint Teresa!

Tholos of Epidaurus

The two best examples of late classical architecture are the tholos of Epidaurus and the temple of Athena at Tegea in Arcadia. A good deal more of the tholos is

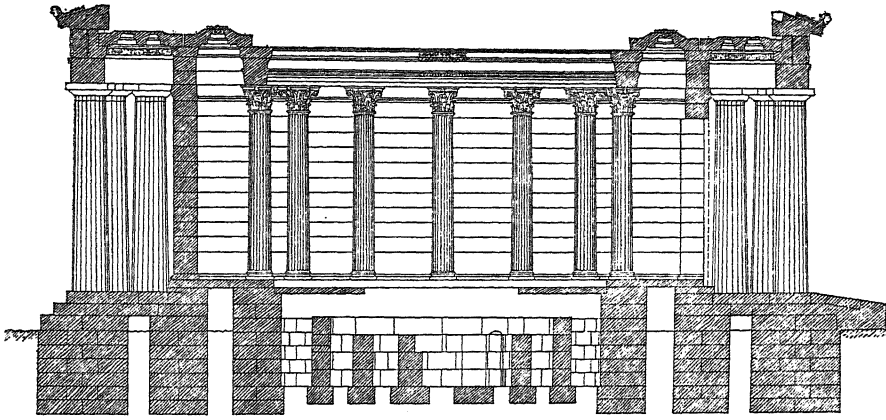


FIG. 67 — *Tholos of Epidauros: cross-section. Cf. below.*

preserved; the remains make the little museum of Epidauros into the most beautiful museum of architecture in the world. As in the case of the Propylaea on the Athenian Acropolis, there was no attempt at figure sculpture; the tholos was thus made subordinate to the house of god, just as on the Acropolis the Propylaea was subordinate to Athena's Parthenon. According to the building accounts, which have been preserved, the tholos was built between 360 and 320. It was somewhat more than a third bigger than the one at Delphi, but the columns were similarly proportioned.

Between the circular walls that carried the floor of the interior narrow passages were left, which were connected by three little doors but were also barred by cross walls, so that a kind of labyrinth was created. In the middle a narrow spiral staircase led downwards. The tholos was called *thymele*, place of sacrifice. Here, then, the sacrifices for the subterranean appearances of Asclepius as hero were brought, while in the temple he was worshipped as a god. The outer ring of columns consisted of 26 Doric columns and the inner one of 14 Corinthian columns. The numerical relationship was thus more complicated than in the tholos at Delphi, with its 20 outer and 10 inner columns; 7 : 13 instead of 1 : 2. This must be connected with the fact that the inner columns are free-standing; the intervening space is expanded further than in the mature classical style. But another factor also comes into play: the moving of the plastic architectural units and especially of the ornamental ones puts an envelope of space round them. The reproductions of sacrificial dishes on the metopes lend even the triglyph frieze a layer of space, and only now is the *sima* brought into a proper relationship with the air. Space is still subordinated to the plastic element, but lends it a magical, transparent envelope. The Corinthian capital now acquires its canonical form, in which two old problems of the Ionic capital find their classical solution. In the basic form of the volute capital, the so-called Aeolic capital, there was a conflict between the upward striving of the palm-filled double spiral and the architrave, which impedes the

FIGS. 67, 72, 73

PLATE P. 199

PLATE P. 78

PLATE P. 167

blooming of the palmette. In smaller structures such as bed-posts the Aeolic form is usually retained, because here there is not so much weight on the capitals. In the Ionic capital assistance was obtained by joining the volutes horizontally; an ornament to indicate blossoming was often applied to the connecting link. In the Corinthian capital the image of blossoming achieves its purest and loveliest expression, and the same is true of the supporting core behind the volutes and leaves. Another problem posed by the Ionic capital was that it does not fit in properly at a corner and in a circular building is quite unusable. With the Corinthian column this difficulty disappears. Here too it was only the late classical style that discovered the final, canonical solution.

PLATE P. 173

The door framing and other details cry out to be compared with the Erechtheum. Here the rosettes lie on door-posts with scarcely any profile, there they lie in sunken channels; here the side wall is smooth, there a strong profile follows on above the orthostates. The best parallel at Epidauros to the wonderful anthemion frieze of the Erechtheum is the overhanging, turbulent sima, the latest part of the building, in which the late classical style is already ripening into baroque wealth. Incomparable, too, is the crescendo from the austere outer columns and the supple inner order; the profiling with fascias, Lesbian kymatia, hollow mouldings, egg and dart mouldings and meanders – each member displays the tensional relationship in which it stands to the whole structure. The supporting and limiting elements are clearest in the meanders, which are employed on vases as the ground or frame of pictures. There is the same crescendo from the collared ceilings of the outer colonnade to the inner colonnade. Inside acanthus tendrils penetrate between the fields, which are here deeper and enclose the blooms. The earthly architectural members are permeated by Olympian forces, a divine baldachin that recalls Hölderlin's vision (in *Patmos*):

PLATES PP. 36, 47,
57, 60, 113, 156

'Getragen sind von lebenden Säulen, Cedern und Lorbeern
Die feierlichen, die göttlich gebauten Paläste. . . '*

We are also reminded of the myths of the laurel hut and of the building of feathers and beeswax, the predecessors of the temple of Apollo at Delphi. The exterior was built of limestone, except for the marble orthostates, coffers and simai, but on the inside the base of the walls, the frieze and the stylobate were picked out in black marble, and the floor was made up of black and white lozenges in a spiral design. Then there was a flat or tent-shaped, brightly painted and gilded wooden ceiling, in which the scroll-work of the coffers was of extreme delicacy. According to Pausanias the same architect, Polykleitos the Younger, was also responsible for the theatre of Epidauros, which, as Pausanias says, surpassed all others in harmony and beauty. Modern scholars have questioned the correctness of this attribution and dated the theatre to the early third century, though it certainly fits in well with the picture of the late classical style which we have drawn here.

Ionian buildings:
Pytheos

In Ionia still mightier buildings were erected at this time, two of which, the temple

* 'The solemn, divinely built palaces are supported by living columns, cedars and laurels. . .'
(*Trans.*)

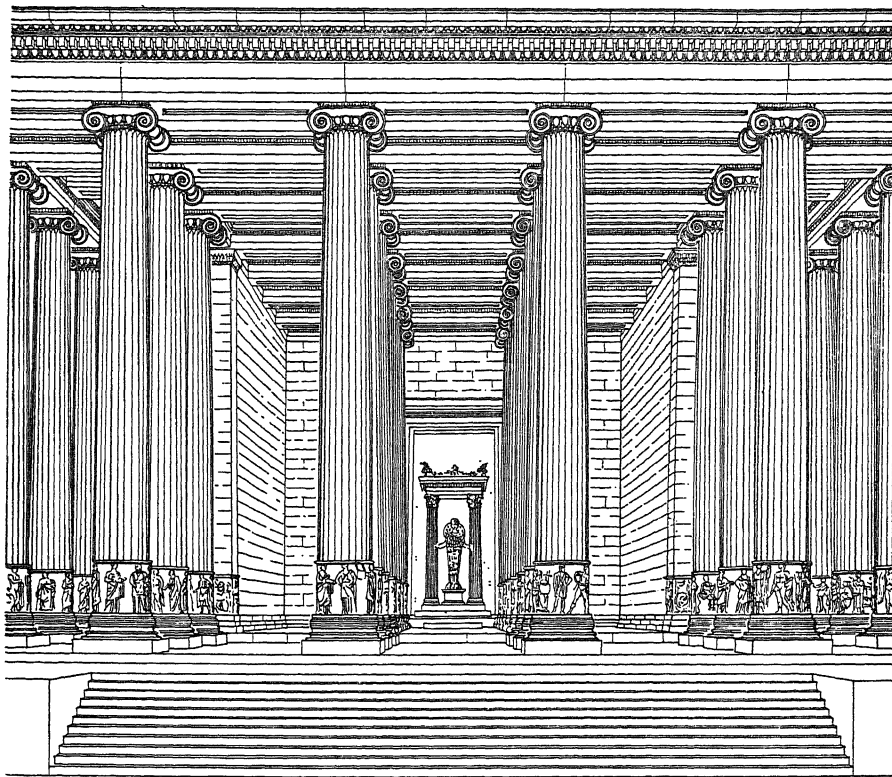


FIG. 68 – *Temple of Artemis at Ephesus. Reconstruction after F. Krischen. Cf. below.*

of Artemis at Ephesus and the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus, ranked as wonders of the world. Sheltered by the peace between Hellas and Persia the rich land of Ionia regained its ancient glory. Pericles himself had persuaded a pan-Hellenic congress in Athens to resolve on the reconstruction of the sanctuaries destroyed by the Persians. Although we do not know how the plan was carried out, it is significant of the eastward expansion of Hellenism, which made Alexander the Great's expedition possible. First came the classical Acropolis of Athens, then the Athenian temple in Delos, and then round 350 the three classical Ionic buildings of the architect Pytheos, the temple of Artemis, the Mausoleum and the temple of Athena at Priene. These were followed later by the temple of Apollo at Didyma and the temple of Artemis at Sardis.

The archaic temple of Artemis had been, together with the Heraeum of Samos and the temple of Apollo at Didyma, one of the mightiest buildings of the early Greek period. A citizen of Ephesus called Herostratos is supposed to have set fire to it in 357 on the night of Alexander's birth because he wanted to become famous; the story at any rate typifies the Ionians' longing for fame, which sometimes

PLATE P. 16

FIGS. 68, 71

FIGS. 9, 65

FIGS. 68–71

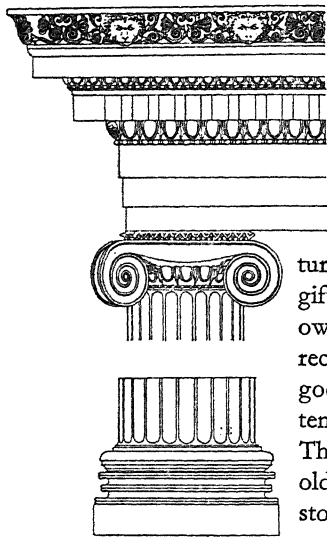
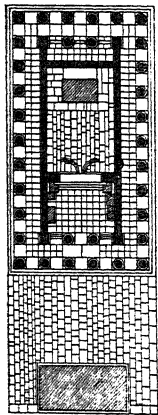


FIG. 69—*Temple of Athena at Priene: order. Cf. p. 207.*

PLATE P. 16



turned into a positive mania. The old building had been erected largely out of gifts from King Croesus of Lydia, but the Ephesians put up the new one at their own expense. When Alexander, on his expedition against Persia, offered to help, he received the proud answer that it did not befit a god to erect the house for the goddess. People did not want to have a dedicatory inscription by the king on the temple; so strong even here was the influence of late classical Attic democracy. The new building stood on the same site and was of the same dimensions as the old one. The cult statue could thus remain in its old position, but the temple now stood at the top of thirteen steps nearly ten feet above its old level, so that it stood out more, in colossal plasticity. At the same time the columns gave the impression of being more slender and the whole baldachin structure seemed lighter, so that the light and air played more freely through it. The columns, which were nearly sixty feet high, were more than half as tall again as those of the Parthenon. The building was well over 100 yards long and 75 yards wide, and according to Pliny it contained altogether 127 columns. Thirty-six of these had reliefs round the bottom drums, like the old temple; the reliefs depicted the labours of Heracles, battles with Centaurs and other scenes whose significance has not been established. One of the reliefs on the columns is supposed to have been the work of Skopas. The base preserved in the British Museum with more or less life-size figures on it is close in style to the work of Kephisodotos, to whose Eirene the figure presumed to be Persephone bears a strong resemblance. The only figure that can be identified for certain is Hermes, who carries the kerykeion in his right hand. His cloak has slipped from his left shoulder, he is excited and is looking upward. This fits in with the interpretation of the relief as a scene in the underworld; so does the youth with the splendid eagle's wings, who wears a sword at his side on a belt and is therefore probably Thanatos. The sad expression and soft mouth suggest the same interpretation. He is beckoning to the woman with his left hand. On the right follow a woman standing and a man on a throne, probably to be identified as Persephone and Hades. The woman unveiling herself between Hermes and Thanatos could be Eurydice, who now belongs finally to the underworld because Orpheus has looked round at her. The composition is not purely dramatic as it is in the Orpheus relief; there is also an epic, narrative element in it. We always see three figures at the same time and they are disposed spatially in such a way that they always form a group and yet also lead on to the next figures. All the figures

FIG. 70—*Temple of Athena at Priene: ground-plan. Cf. p. 207.*

reflect the calm, fulfilled Being of the ripe late classical style, but they do not yet show the concentration of the middle of the century; the relief must therefore be one of the first pieces of work carried out on the new temple and date from soon after 357.

The temple of Athena at Priene is the classical example of what has been called the Ionian Renaissance; the 'Canon', so to speak, of the master Pytheos. The ground-plan is of a clarity that must have been felt at the time as a liberation. The building served as a model both in the late classical period and — even more — in the Roman period, through which it influenced the Renaissance and neo-classicism. Pytheos wrote about both his chief masterpieces and it has been surmised that the town plan of Priene was also the work of his masterly hand.

According to Vitruvius Pytheos said that the Doric order must be abandoned completely because there was no satisfactory solution to the problem of the corner triglyphs. The desired clarity could be achieved more easily in the Ionic than in the Doric building because in the Ionic the columns stood on the axes of the walls without the continually changing tensional relationship of the Doric ground-plan. One can see at once how this facilitated the construction of the ceiling; the beams could simply be extended to the columns. The ground-plan consists of squares measuring 6 by 6 Attic feet; there is one of these squares under each column and between each pair. Thus the interval between the columns amounts everywhere to 12 feet. The proportion of 6 : 11 columns means a proportion of 5 : 10 intervals; thus on the axes of the columns there is a proportion of 5 times 12 = 60 to 10 times 12 = 120; 60 : 120 or 1 : 2. The peristyle all round is one intercolumnation wide. Thus the cella, measured along the axes of the columns, is 8 times 12 = 96 feet long; if one adds the thickness of the antae — 4 feet — one gets the ideal figure of 100 feet. The width is that of 3 intercolumnations, in other words 3 times 12 = 36; if we again add 4 feet for the thickness of the antae, we obtain a width of 40 feet and a proportion of 40 : 100 or 2 : 5. The inside length of the cella amounts to 50 feet, exactly half the outside length; the other half is taken up by the pronaos and opisthodomos. The antae project from the wall like pillars, after the Doric fashion. We find an opisthodomos here for the first time in eastern Ionia; the deep pronaos follows old Ionic models. The absence of columns on the inside is in accordance with the classical tendency towards tension in an interior.

On the whole Pytheos renews the old Ionic tradition; he does not follow Attic variations on it. Thus the base of the columns, for example, does not project as far as those of the Propylaea and the Erechtheum, where two tori are separated by a groove; Pytheos follows the old Ionic form, with torus over groove, still retained in the Nike temple on the Acropolis. Ionic architecture always retained something of the character of the wooden building; this rational clarity is more in accord with wooden constructions than the swelling, blooming Attic forms. As at Ephesus, the columns have 24 grooves. The volutes of the capitals are widely separated, as in the archaic period. The egg and dart moulding is higher than on classical Attic capitals and is thus felt more as an efflorescence of the shaft. The volutes are stiffer, so that one sees lines of force more than plastic bodies. The entablature has no Attic frieze. The three fascias of the architrave are followed by

FIGS. 69, 70

FIG. 70 (CF. FIG. 42)

PLATE P. 167

denticulation, geison and sima. The architrave with its crowning kyma is as highly formed as the cornice and achieves in detail a fine scale of proportions which is apparent in the numerical relationships themselves: 11 quarter feet are taken up by the architrave, 3 by the kyma, 6 by the denticulation, 3 by the geison and 5 by the sima. There were corresponding rhythms in the horizontal plane: the double time of the intercolumniations was succeeded in the sima, with its lions' heads, by a three-three rhythm, and the denticulation and leaf moulding are divided up in a still more sophisticated way. This brings, as Gruben saw, 'an irrational element into the general regularity, a fine chromatic cadence into the pure harmony of the building... Ever since Pythagoras... had proclaimed that the essence of things was number and this doctrine of his had been confirmed by the simple relationships between the vibrations of harmonic tones, Greek philosophy and aesthetics had clung fast to this idea. The ideal of the classical style -- to capture beauty in a mathematical formulation or law -- was probably realized more successfully in this temple than in any other late classical building.' This was achieved by simple, transparent, elegant arrangement and the symmetrical harmony of the way in which space was moulded.

FIG. 71 When Pytheos built the temple at Priene he had already largely completed his third masterpiece, the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. It was one of the seven wonders of the world. Pliny (36, 30) says that Skopas did the reliefs on the east side, Bryaxis those on the north, Timotheos those on the south and Leochares those on the west. On the very top stood the marble quadriga by Pythis. Pliny also provides the measurements on which modern reconstructions are based.

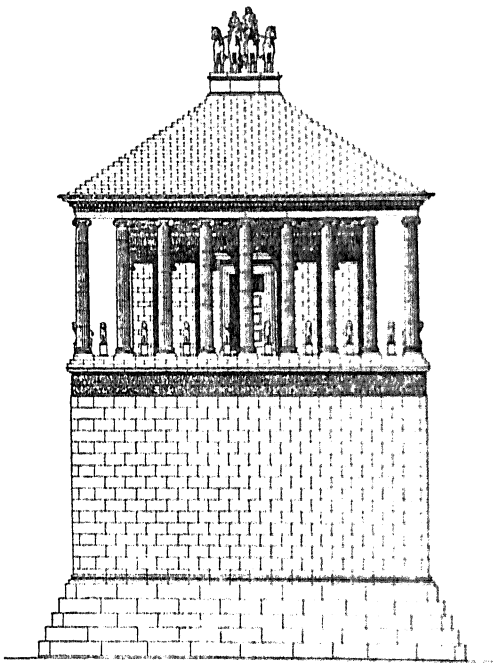


FIG. 71 -- Mausoleum. Reconstruction after F. Krichen. Cf. above.



PLATE 4. Classical statue of
Mars (Jupiter). About 100 B.C.
London. Height 14 ft. 6 in. (4.4 m.)

The foundations preserved in the rock correspond with these measurements. Vitruvius (7, 12) gives the name of the architect as Pytheos, who is probably identical with the Pythis – the sculptor of the quadriga – mentioned by Pliny; he also speaks of one Satyros, who made statues of the brothers and sisters and of the successors of Mausolus for Delphi.

PLATE P. 120

The Mausoleum is to the late classical style what the Parthenon is to the mature classical style; both are keys to the understanding of the period. Mausolus was the Persian satrap of Caria from 377 to 353. How far some parts of the Persian empire were Hellenized is shown by the fact that a local ruler like this not only erected such an almost purely Greek building but also left the inland capital of his satrapy, Mylasa, and chose as his residence the Greek city of Halicarnassus on the coast, which indeed he laid out afresh on classical lines. The tomb formed the hero's shrine of the second founder, just as Theseus was worshipped at Athens in his sanctuary in the market-place; there were similar cults in many cities. Artemisia, Mausolus' sister and wife, ruled from 353 to 351. It was in her reign, according to Pliny, that the most important parts of the work were carried out. This was only possible because the building had been started in Mausolus' time. After Artemisia's death the artists are supposed to have completed their work on their own initiative. This shows how highly art was valued in the late classical period; a similar situation did not occur again until the time of the Renaissance.

APPX. PL. 53

The best preserved of the sculptural decorations is a frieze depicting battles between Greeks and Amazons. It ran round the top of the base, and seventeen slabs and many fragments have come down to us. There were also friezes showing Centaurs and chariots, but only small pieces of them have been found. The Centaur and Amazon friezes consist of coarse Anatolian marble like the base, the chariot frieze of fine white marble like the architecture above; it was probably fixed to the wall of the cella. To judge by their huge size – Mausolus is thirteen feet high – the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia must have stood in a prominent spot, and this was certainly the apex of the building. The very characteristic giant statues of the ruling couple belong together, as is shown by the grandiose movement of their structure, the balanced ponderation and the extension of the cloak motif up to the breast, above which the head appears in all the more calm dignity.

PLATE P. 209

The style combines East Greek fullness with Attic articulation. This fits in with the style of Bryaxis, the sculptor of the north side, where the statues were found. But if they stood in the chariot on the top of the building we should have to assume that they were the work of Pytheos, and all we know about his style of sculpture is that he was an Ionian like Bryaxis. The sharing out of the rest of the sculptural decoration among four famous masters has the character of a competition; this element of *agon*, contest, is a fundamental trait of Greek culture. Sophia, artistic skill, is maintained when a similar task is carried out in different ways. The friezes are unmistakably different in dress and armour, composition and style, and these differences confirm Pliny's statement. Moreover, a connected series of slabs was found on the east side, that is, Skopas' side, in front of the façade of the building, and their style fits in with what we know of Skopas from other sources, particularly the sculptures of the temple of Athena at Tegea. The Skopas slabs are

APPX. PL. 53

distinguished by boldness of invention and ripest fulfilment of the late classical style, with free-moving, space-creating figures. A Greek attacks an Amazon, who suddenly turns round in flight and prepares to aim a mortal axe-blow at her unshielded pursuer. There had never been such a boldly turned figure in the whole great tradition of Greek fighting pictures, but in Dresden there is the torso of a Maenad which has been attributed to Skopas on other grounds and it is engaged in a similar movement. The chiton on the powerful body is only held together by the belt. In daemonic power and agility the Amazon seems in a sinister way superior to her tensed, narrowly-built adversary.

As in the figure of Mausolus, man gives the impression of being master of his environment; he is no longer lost against it, as he is in the rich style. There are no more movements into the background; once again a clear plastic—linear style is developed; the space-forming function of every single limb is clarified down to the last detail; the three-dimensional art of relief sculpture achieves its classical fulfilment. The obligation to respect the law of the relief makes the highest degree of freedom possible. If one covers up the group on the right of the slab — the warrior attacking a fugitive — the classical comparison certainly fails. One then sees how the frieze is composed as a whole, with parallels between straight body-axes, linking curves and sensitive distribution of weights. Surprisingly rich as the sculptor's fancies are, his motifs are just as economical. Yet he never repeats himself; he is as simple and as full of genius as the day of creation. The clarity of the outlines only tolerates overlapping when it helps the articulation of the organic whole. The aim is no longer a comprehensive picture consisting of many details, as it is in the rich style with its affinities to painting, but a few characteristic basic forms.

On the next slab we find once again an Amazon turning round in flight, but this time she is on horseback and sends her arrows flying back with fantastic accuracy, in the style attributed to the Scythians. Artists do not seek out sentimental or exceptional situations, as they did in the rich style — wounded warriors saved from the battle or put to death in spite of their pleas for mercy — but basic battle situations. Yet everything is seen afresh, with unparalleled mobility and suppleness. The most fleeting moment is captured, but it becomes eternal because it is an essential, a decisive moment, and because the sculpture creates the timeless tranquillity of space. Space is no longer an illusion; it is part of the tangible reality of the sculpture.

From the style of eastern Ionia, which confronted us so powerfully in the statues of the two rulers, Skopas took nothing. His heads are small and clearly built, with a firm structure of bone. There are deep-set eyes elsewhere in the frieze, but only in Skopas' work are there arched brows that jut out like crags. The expression of the gaze, of an open mouth, of a raised brow is powerful precisely because it is so simple. In spite of the momentary nature of the happening the expression is not ephemeral; it retains the greatness of Being. The artist's concern is to let fate appear behind the fleeting moment.

After work on the Mausoleum was completed its leading sculptor, Skopas, turned his attention to a new marvel, the temple of Athena Alea, near Tegea. Pausanias

Tegea

FIGS. 72, 73

FIGS. 38, 62, 63

(8, 45, 4) calls it the biggest and most beautiful temple in the Peloponnese; classicistic taste found it more attractive than the austere temple of Zeus at Olympia or the rich temple of Apollo at Phigalia. Here for the first time in Greece itself — apart from Athens and Etruria — a pure marble temple on the Ionic pattern was built, but in a style that brought to classical perfection what had been started at Phigalia. It was distinguished by pedimental sculptures which were certainly designed by Skopas, although Pausanias names him only as architect. The east pediment showed the hunting of the Calydonian boar, in which Atalanta, the heroine of neighbouring Arcadia, had distinguished herself. On the west pediment Heracles seems to have challenged the victorious Achilles in order to protect Telephus, who also came from Arcadia. The metopes over the ends of the cella also depicted Arcadian myths, including the story of Telephus; unfortunately they have perished almost completely.

FIG. 67

During the excavations a votive relief to Zeus Stratios, a deity of Asia Minor, was found. It was the gift of a sculptor who had previously worked on the Mausoleum. This indicates that the building is later than the Mausoleum. Politically, too, the period from 362 to 338 was peaceful and most favourable for a building of this sort. Stylistically the temple is on the whole a little later than the tholos of Epidauros — begun in 360 — where only the sima is later than that of Tegea. Work on the tholos thus lasted longer.

FIG. 72

In its old-fashioned long shape (6 : 14 columns) and in the form of the interior the temple follows the pattern of Phigalia (6 : 15), but in other ways it is more classical. Some elements are conscious quotations from mature classical buildings; for example, the diameter of the columns and the intervals between them are those of the Propylaea and the columns are the same height as those of the Parthenon. The subtlety of the curvature, the imperceptible arching of all flat surfaces, likewise follows the example of the Parthenon; so does the inward inclination of the columns and the walls of the long sides. But in their slenderness and lack of swelling or entasis the columns are assimilated to Ionic ones even more than those of Phigalia; in addition, there are Lesbian kymatia on the foot of the walls and Ionic ones on the ceiling beams. Above all, the half-columns against the walls of the interior are Corinthian.

Probably the back wall as well as the two long sides of the interior were broken up by half-columns; there were seven against each of the long sides. In the corners pilasters were employed to avoid the ugly quarter column shape. With the continuous, elastically swelling profile of the base, which again is strongly reminiscent of the Erechtheum, wall and half-columns are blended into a new unity with a plastic—spatial effect of its own. Further contributions to this atmospheric loosening-up are made by the ornaments and above all by the capitals (Fig. 73).

The Corinthian capital first assumed the form which became the model for the Roman period in the temple of Olympian Zeus which Antiochus IV of Syria

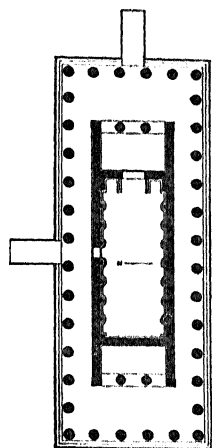


FIG. 72 — *Temple of Athena at Tegea: ground-plan. Cf. above.*

FIG. 73 - *Temple of Athena at Tegea: capital.*
Cf. p. 211.



started to build at Athens in 170 B.C. The architect had the Latin name of Cossutius. Here the thick garland of leaves and the leaf sheathed volutes of Tegea are combined with the extended proportions and central volute of the Epidaureus capitals in a way that had already been indicated at the very beginning of the Hellenistic period in the Lysicrates monument at Athens and the temple of Apollo at Didyma. All older Corinthian capitals had been diverse, heterogeneous creations. It was only with the Olympieum that a canon was produced and used on the outside of a really big temple, for in the classical period, down to the Lysicrates monument, the Corinthian order had only been used on the inside of buildings. In the Olympieum, as in the contemporary altar of Pergamum, there is something backward-looking; this is the first sign of the classicism typical of the early Roman period.

At Tegea the Corinthian capital serves the classical solution of the interior problem, a solution indicated in the tholos of Delphi and Epidaureus. Through the blending of the wall with the space the latter loses the harsh tension which it had still possessed, as intermediate space, at the height of the classical period. It now floats round and transfigures the plastic forms. Probably the effect was intensified by a row of Ionic columns above the Corinthian ones, but unfortunately all traces of this have disappeared. One can feel just as free an emanation of the interior in the heads of the pedimental sculptures that have been preserved. From here too one can understand better the ground plan of the whole — the spaciousness of the porticos and the symmetrical, axial arrangement of the door in the north wall. The disposition is simpler and more transparent than in classical Attic buildings; it is more elegant and can be described as more purely classical.

Late classical architecture comes to an end with two circular buildings, the Philippeum at Olympia and the Lysicrates monument in Athens. Philip II started to build this family shrine after 419 and it is said to have been completed by Alexander. By employing the Ionic order Philip emphasized that he, not the Athenians, was now the leader of the Ionian Greeks. Because Olympia was a Dorian sanctuary the 18 Ionic columns are a little more austere than usual; the bases have only one torus under the groove and the capitals have no egg and tongue moulding. Here for the first time, as so often later, we find Attic frieze and Ionic denticulation combined. The Corinthian columns inside — there are nine of them, half as many as outside — stand, as half columns, no longer on the ground, as at Tegea,

FIG. 67

FIG. 75

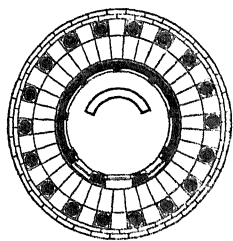
PLATE P. 199

FIG. 67

Philippeum

FIG. 74

FIG. 74 - *Philippeum at Olympia: ground-plan. Cf. p. 213.*



but on the socle of the orthostates. The half-columns at Tegea had brought the wall to life atmospherically; now we have a garland of columns standing on a bench, as in the tholos of Delphi, and between the columns the space is no longer limited. This contrasting of plasticity and infinite space is an early Hellenistic feature; it suggests that the interior of the building was not completed until after 330. The Roman period was to develop, by illusionistic methods, this trick of hinting at further space. One has to visualize in front of this new kind of wall the gold and ivory statues of Amyntas, Philip, Alexander, Olympias and Eurydice by the great sculptor Leochares. The inside capitals are similar in type to those of Tegea but more slender. A mannerist refinement is reflected in the dull, simple conciseness of all the decorative forms down to the refined adornment of the stones of the steps. The votive gift of Lysicrates was intended to bear the tripod which he had won as choregus in 334. Here too one cannot help wondering whether the building was not erected after 330, for the tension between plasticity and space again has an early Hellenistic character. On a high cubic limestone podium with a cornice stands a circular stylobate with three steps, made of marble from Mount Hymettus; everything above is of Pentelic marble. The plain walls between the Corinthian columns are intended to give the impression that an open baldachin is just temporarily blocked up, and the reliefs of tripods on the cornice of the wall strengthen the idea of a spatial continuum. With the shallow reliefs are contrasted the rich Corinthian capitals, here used for the first time on the outside of a building. An unusual feature is the circlet of leaves which once again, as in older times, gives the flutes a botanical significance; other interesting features are the slenderness of the columns, the enrichment of the acanthus leaves with blooms and that of the volutes, which spring up from common foliage, with palmettes. The whole structure is a creation of unparalleled splendour which served as a model for a long time afterwards (Fig. 75).

In the entablature Attic frieze is once again combined with Ionic denticulation, as in the Philippeum. The roof consists of one single block of marble. The roof of overlapping tiles with the two antefix cornices is enriched with exceptional splendour by the base for the tripod at the apex and by the volute forms which flow down from it and probably also bore figures. Additional charm was provided by bright colours, and probably also by metals. Everywhere concise, sharply defined forms contrast with ones that push out into space. The same is true of the frieze. Like a Satyr play it depicts a variation on the story of Dionysus being captured by pirates and changing his enemies into dolphins. Here he is no longer travelling on the ship but encamped on land and served by Satyrs. Other Satyrs pursue, tie up,

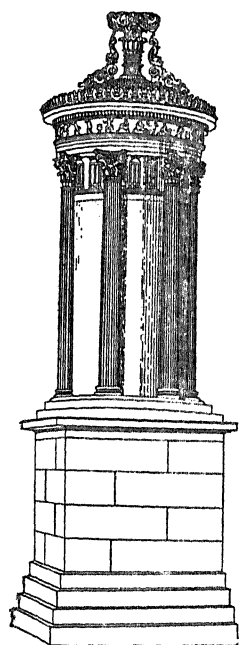


FIG. 75 - *Lysicrates monument, Athens. Height about 40 ft. Cf. p. 213.*

cudgel and singe the robbers. The figures are no longer harmoniously combined with the space, as they still are on the Alexander sarcophagus; with their long limbs, they are sharply differentiated from it. If they are squatting they are compressed into tight forms that stand out sharply from the background. All this is more like the reliefs of the years between 340 and 320 than the Alexander sarcophagus. Frieze and architecture are equally inspired. The aim of the whole conception is to make victory shine as a divine wonder among men; an Olympian baldachin bears the tripod, while soles and vertical walls at the same time lift it above the world of men (plate p. 189; Appendix plates 57, 58).

Other objects that belong to the land of the gods are the votive columns depicted on vases and in several cases still preserved. The most famous is the acanthus column which stood, among other Thessalian votive offerings, near the grave of Neoptolemus at Delphi. The tripod shows that here too the intention was to celebrate a victory. The girl dancers and the daemonic life of the shaft recall the Olympic dance glorified by Pindar. The work can be only a little later than the relief of 329 (Appendix plate 57); the classical rhythm is only accentuated by the high waist and the swift bowing of the head; it is not broken. A non-classical element is the separation of the plane surfaces from the surrounding space, a device that contributes to the wonder of the creation. Modern critics have felt that this non-classical element is bold and alienating; they are put off by the mannerisms that appear at the end of every mature style. But if one thinks of the painting and of the total effect of the figures and the tall column, one tends to be a little more cautious in one's judgement.

The Greeks had an incomparable sense of what was important; they seized on innovations and combined them with tradition. Unity of style rests on this capacity for transformation. An intelligent man picks up what is alive in the age and attaches himself to the great, unless he is one of the great himself. So far as architectural sculpture is concerned, we have made the acquaintance of originals by famous masters — Timotheos in Epulaurus, Skopas, Bryaxis and Leochares at Halicarnassus, and Skopas at Tegea as well. We have plenty of literary evidence about the work of these masters. Only a few works are preserved in the original like Praxiteles' Hermes. Pausanias' *Description of Hellas* makes it seem as if there were many more works of renown than the ones we know from faithful copies. We can expect Roman copies only of works named by Pliny, Quintilian and Lucian because they were praised by these writer's sources, the Greek art historians. The many works mentioned by Pausanias are usually known to us only if they are preserved in the original.

Naukydes, a relative of Polykleitos, created soon after 420 the gold and ivory statue of Hebe which stood beside Polykleitos' Hera in her temple at Argos. Pliny names as Naukydes' most famous works a youth sacrificing a ram, a Hermes and a Diskobolos. The youth making the sacrifice is probably the Phrixos that Pausanias

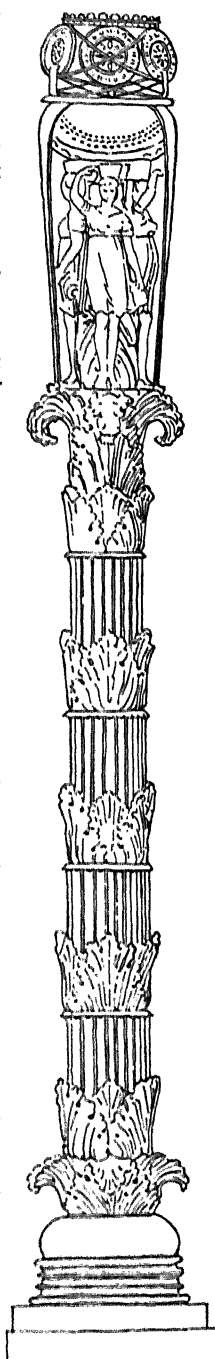


FIG. 76 — Acanthus column, Delphi. Height about 35 ft. Cf. above.

APPX. PL. 45 mentions as standing on the Acropolis of Athens. This figure is reproduced in a bronze statuette in Munich which shows a youth holding a ram's head in his right hand. The Discus-thrower can be traced in copies, the most important of which are the two in the Vatican and the New Museum on the Capitol. The history of ancient art knows only two famous discus-throwers, the one by Myron and the other by Naukydes, and only the Vatican—New Museum type fits the period and Peloponnesian tradition of Naukydes.

PLATE P. 141 Myron had shaped the law of movement; Naukydes is concerned with the psychology of the event and the momentary situation: the athlete still holds the discus in his left hand, he looks in the direction in which he is going to throw, and every limb is tensed for action. The weight-bearing side no longer rests in itself, as it does in Polykleitos' statue, but follows the advanced right leg, the toes of which claw into the ground. The rounding of the body is newly observed too. One can compare the grave relief of Dexileos, which also provides a clue to the dating but is shallower. Although we possess only copies of the statue it is clear that it is the deeper and more important creation. In accordance with the tendency of the rich style the movement remains confined to one plane, but it embraces environment in a new fashion. The event is not closed in on itself, as it is in Myron's statue.

APPX. PL. 40 The development of this Peloponnesian school in the ripe late classical period is best shown by the bronze Roman copy of the statue of an athlete found at Ephesus in 1896. The statue's fame is proved by the existence of several marble replicas. There were 234 fragments and they have not been pieced together quite correctly. In particular the attitude of the left hand was different; the thumb was removing the dust from the hollow groove of the scraper, as is shown by a marble statuette in Boston, reliefs from Campania and reproductions on gems. Now the viewer's gaze is led all round the figure, and the spatiality and balanced rhythm make the moment timeless, as in the Hermes on the drum of the column from Ephesus, which dates from about 350. In the Apoxyomenos (or 'Scraper') the spatiality is still somewhat more closed than in the Hermes. The broad, powerful, Doric body differs from the classical Polykleitan works as decisively as the Discus-thrower through a new conception of nature, energetic curves and the bloom of happy life. Bodies influenced by the Attic tradition, on the other hand, like the Hermes of the column-drum, seem less full-blooded and only expressions of spiritual life, although the articulation is closer to that of classical Polykleitan works. This is a characteristic paradox: the Attic work is more Polykleitan than the Doric one, yet the latter continues the Polykleitan tradition more logically. The Apoxyomenos may be the work of Daïdalos of Sicyon, a second-generation disciple of Polykleitos.

PLATE P. 16 Silanion, with his psychological studies — akin to painting — of momentary, individual situations, was still rooted in the rich style. He himself helps to overcome this style, with new plastic force and mobility. It is quite different with Silanion, Leochares, Praxiteles and Skopas, they can all only be understood with the beginning of the simple style, most of all Silanion, whom we shall therefore consider first. Diogenes Laertius quotes the dedicatory inscription on his famous statue of Plato: 'Mithridates the son of Orontobates the Persian dedicated this to the Muses; Silanion made it.' There is convincing evidence that this Mithridates

APPX. PL. 45

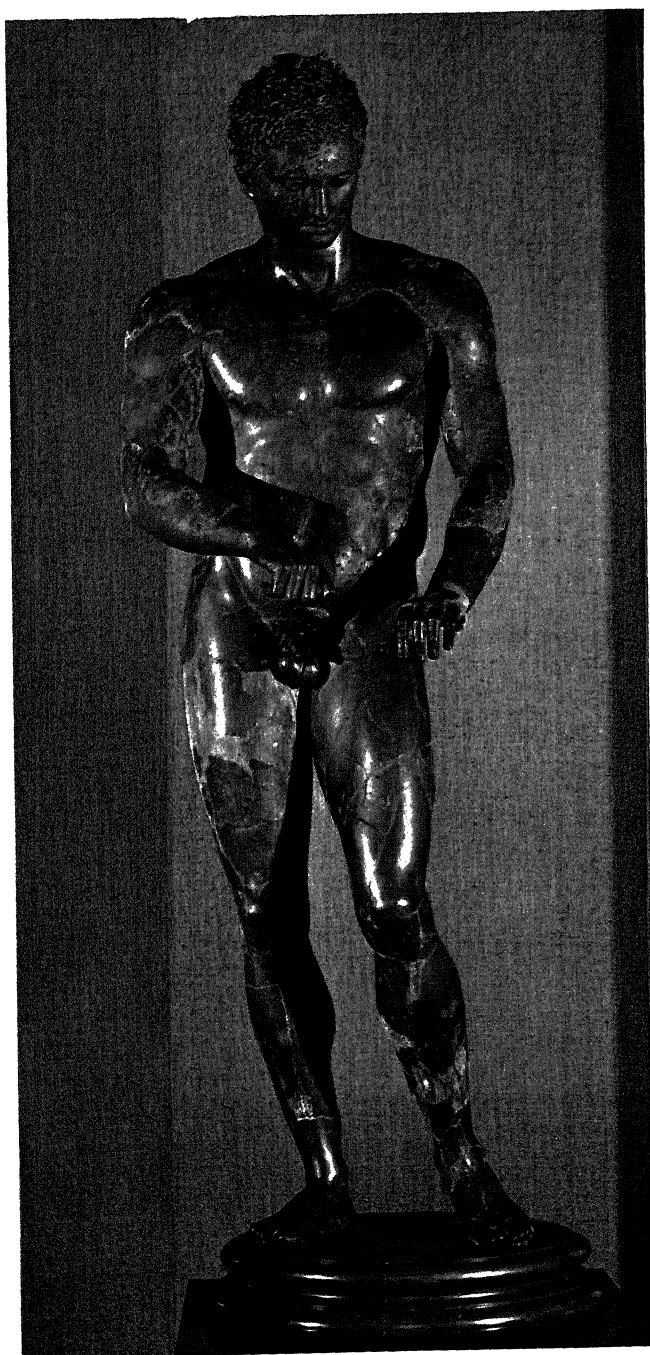


PLATE 47 - Athlete cleaning himself. Roman copy of the statue made about 350 B.C. by Daidalos(?). Vienna. Height 6 ft. 5 in. Cf. p. 216.

died in 363. Plato was born in 427 and founded the Academy, where the portrait was erected, in 387; the Academy was a sanctuary of the Muses. The portrait is identified from an inscribed herme and shows the features of an elderly man. It therefore cannot have been made long before 361, the year of Mithridates' death. Stylistically the portrait of Plato shows affinities with the oldest of the portraits of Socrates, so that it is tempting to surmise that Silanion created this work too for the Academy which held Socrates in such high honour. It belongs entirely to the beginning of the simple style, to the years after 380; Silanion would thus have had to be born about 400 and to have lived until at least 321.

APPX. PL. 68

Our best copy of the portrait of Plato is one in private ownership in Switzerland. The portrait's fame is shown by the number of reproductions made; the work fascinated the Greeks to such an extent that they never produced a later portrait of Plato, while several different versions of the portraits of Homer, Euripides and Sophocles are extant. The skull is short but high; it falls more swiftly to the front than to the back, down to the hard, straight fringe of hair over the brow. The framing of the brow is just as austere as its division by pairs of horizontal and vertical folds. The jutting eyebrows are prolonged over the nose with sombre sharpness. The close-set, small eyes are strongly shadowed. The gaze is austere and probing, and comes from immeasurable depths. The depressions under the lower lids testify to a full, passionate life, but the wilful cheek bones speak even more clearly. The cheeks are tight and have hardened into heavy folds, whose oblique lines are still further emphasized by the waves of the beard at the sides. The lower lip is full, but tensed; one expects to hear pointed but also bitter words. The powerful chin curves out beautifully.

The secret of the work is that it hints at nobility and depth of spirit behind the sombre, unfriendly features. It is true that Plato conned his activities to the intellectual republic of his Academy and renounced public office, in accordance with the tradition of his family. But there is no renunciation in his inward gaze, so that Goethe could call him the 'blessed spirit whom it pleased to sojourn for a while in the world'. The style makes a decisive contribution to the secret of the work; Silanion's art consisted in using big, simple curves to lay a sphere of higher being round the dominating force of the skull. The statuette, which is unfortunately preserved only in casts, reproduces the statue incompletely, with the book roll in the left hand, as was usual from now on for Academic philosophers. But one can sense that the statue, like the head, dominated the space around it with powerful curves.

That a genius should have been captured in a portrait by an artist worthy of him like Silanion is a rare stroke of luck. We are probably also indebted to Silanion for the portrait of Thucydides, and in a stylistically related portrait of a boxer from Olympia we may even possess an original work by him. The boxer in question is Satyros of Elis, who is mentioned in literary sources. He is described as having been victorious at Oropos in 335/4, and Pausanias reports that he saw a statue of him at Olympia.

Kephisodotos

Pliny's date for the older Kephisodotos is presumably based on the date of the foundation of Megalopolis in Arcadia. Here Epaminondas and his Thebans had

created a powerful political centre in order to break the hegemony of the Spartans in the Peloponnese. Splendid coins with the head of Zeus on them were struck. The cult statues in the chief temple, Zeus the Saviour enthroned between Artemis and the personification of Megalopolis, were the work of Kephisodotos and Xenophon of Paros, and were made of Pentelic marble. This Xenophon of Paros, together with a Theban sculptor, made for Thebes a group consisting of Tyche with the boy Plutus. The boy personifies the rich abundance of happy life. The group must be imagined as similar to Kephisodotos' Eirene, the goddess of peace with the boy Plutus, a work, which we know from the Munich copy. We are in contact here with a typically late classical circle of artistic ideas. The venerable Zeus is the saviour. Together with Megalopolis he protects the city; Megalopolis is a being similar to Tyche. Tyche, who was worshipped in many cities as a tutelary deity, bestows her bounty on Thebes too, just as Athens was protected by the goddess of peace, to whom an altar is said to have been erected as early as 465, and again in 375. Still more famous than the statue of Peace was the Athena of the Piraeus, who held a spear. Pliny calls the statue 'mirabilis' and Pausanias praises it as the most important work to be seen at Piraeus. Unfortunately Pausanias does not mention the name of the sculptor and Pliny give it as Kephisodoros; presumably this is a corruption of Kephisodotos, for there was no famous sculptor called Kephisodoros and the time fits Kephisodotos; since the rebuilding of its walls by Canon in 392 Piraeus had acquired fresh importance. This Athena may be the larger-than-life statue found with other Greek original works at the Piraeus in 1959. In the Louvre there is a Roman copy, but its arms have been incorrectly restored; this gives the statue as a whole a pose alien to the original. With her lowered left hand Athena grasped the spear, but her right held a dish from which she was pouring; the statue's gaze followed this gesture, in which there is a sort of beneficent blessing, a curious combination of nearness to life and distance from it. The original has the relaxed air of Raphael's art. The inlaid eyes, made of mother-of-pearl and semi-precious stones, are preserved, and the working of the bronze has an indescribable feeling of life about it, without any over-refinement. In front of this Athena, much more than before the Hermes of Praxiteles, one feels the inner kinship between the late classical period and the Renaissance.

APPX. PL. 47

APPX. PL. 61

The simple style of the late classical period is rich in important new statues of the goddess of Athens, under whose protection the renewal of the Attic maritime confederacy had been achieved. Now she no longer wears the belted peplos like the Athena Parthenos, or a cloak after the style of Zeus like the Athena of Velletri; in the Piraeus Athena the facing falls straight down ungirded with a slanting lower hem, and the aegis is no bigger than a sash. The oblique lines help the plastic articulation in depth and in the loose folds the life is free and relaxed. One breathes the pure air and the light of the Aegean. The accentuation of the breast, which becomes so important around 330, is already gently suggested. Aegis and hem of the flap punctuate the fall of the drapery; so does the turning of the goddess to mankind.

FIG. 33

For a more precise dating one can compare the figure of Peloponnesos in the Molon relief; she is similarly proportioned, but the peplos envelops her more

APPX. PL. 49

PLATE P. 16
APPX. PL. 50

richly and abundantly, in that intensification of outward appearance which reaches its ripest stage on the column-drum from Artemesium. The Corevra relief of 375 is simpler than the Athena of the revival of the maritime confederacy after 370. On the other hand the grandiose majesty of the Eirene belongs to the same phase as the column-drum and is thus the latest work by Kephisodotos that we can fix.

Leochares

It is still not clear which artist was ultimately responsible for the swing from the rich to the late classical style. The first masterpiece in the new style that corresponds completely with the manner of the Corevra relief seems to have been the Zeus Brontaios made by Leochares for Olympia. We do not know anything about Leochares' background but even as a young artist he was highly regarded in Athens. In the Thirteenth Letter, which dates from soon after 380, Plato calls him an able young sculptor; Pliny gives as his *floruit* the Olympiad 171-160. This will have been when his Zeus Brontaios was erected, a statue which Pliny calls 'ante cuncta mirabilis', more deserving of praise than any other statue of Zeus. It thus seems to have been preferred even to Pheidias' Zeus. In 27 B.C. Augustus dedicated a temple to Jupiter Tonans on the Capitol, and Leochares' Brontaios stood in this temple. The pose of the statue has come down to us on gold and silver coins of Augustus; the left hand was propped high up on a sceptre and the right was lowered with the gaze. As the statue stood in Rome we may expect to find copies. The pose on the coins is most closely echoed in a type of statue preserved most completely in Cyrene and in a somewhat over-reined and restored form in Ince Blundell Hall. There are also innumerable free reproductions in Greek and Roman bronze statuettes. The surest indication that we are in the presence of a work of the highest importance is provided by the silver tetradrachms of the Arcadian League, which were minted between 370 and 362. They are the first to show the type of Zeus' head with the hair ruffled up over the brow and falling down sideways to the nape of the neck.

APPX. PL. 46

APPX. PL. 47

APPX. PL. 50

This type not only becomes widespread later on coins showing Zeus, it also becomes the model for most later bearded gods' heads in general, and thus took the place of Pheidias' Zeus. The majestic head was certainly not created for a coin in the first place, but for a large scale statue. Now the Cyrene - Ince Blundell type of Zeus can be dated from the Corevra relief to the seventies. If it was Leochares' Zeus, which stood at Olympia, that explains why the coins of the Arcadian League were the first to adopt this kind of head. The combination of harmonious ponderation and shaping of space corresponds very closely to the manner of the Corevra relief; indeed, Leochares himself may well have been the sculptor of this relief. The only reason why the importance of this portrait of Zeus has not been recognized before is that it could not be dated. Pheidias had captured the majesty of Zeus as mighty presence; Leochares makes him appear more sublime, omnipotent, a being existing in a higher sphere. The rich style had made it possible to model splendid epiphanies; with this Leochares combines classical being. This kind of posture grips us more today than the withdrawn sublimity of Praxiteles' gods. All this leads to the conclusion that it was most probably Leochares who played the decisive part in moulding the late classical style.

FIG. 38

Leochares was the only great artist of the fourth century who was famed for his

statues of Zeus; he created the Zeus Polieus, the civic god on the Acropolis, and the group of Zeus and Demos at the Piraeus. The Zeus of the Acropolis seems to be the likeliest model for the enthroned Zeus on the Capitol at Rome, a statue which has come down to us — copied somewhat freely — in innumerable bronze statuettes and also in cult statues from the provinces. This type is distinguished from the Zeus of Pheidias by the forward inclination of the head, the nakedness of the upper part of the body, the way in which the thunderbolt is held and the mobility of the surface with its tight, late classical folds and its shaping of space. The head is well known from the Jupiter of Otricoli in the Vatican, which in days gone by was the Zeus usually to be found in school-books. Today we can see that in these Roman versions of classical models the breathing life has disappeared, because what they were aiming to express was now the transcendent, the numinous in ideal, universal forms.

Whether we possess copies of the gold and ivory statues which Leochares made after 338 for the Philippeum at Olympia is questionable, but there must have been a portrait of Alexander by Leochares in Athens as well. At the age of eighteen Alexander brought the ashes of the fallen to the Athenians after the battle of Chaeronea in 338, so even at that time he must have made a deep impression on the Athenians. To Leochares is attributed the original of a portrait which is preserved in an all too smooth and polished replica at Erbach in the Odenwald, and also in a rather soft one from Athens and a severely damaged but good one in Berlin. The relationship of the hair to the face could certainly derive from a gold and ivory statue, and so could the erect carriage of the head. In contrast with the brilliant intensity of Lysippos' portrait of Alexander, which influenced coins and the painting of the Battle of Alexander and Darius, we find here a quiet, youthful, spiritual strength closed to the clamour of the world and concentrating on a higher destiny. On the strength of the similarity of the heads there have been attempts to attribute the lovely original statue of an enthroned Demeter from Cnidus in the British Museum to Leochares, and it is easy to believe that its sculptor knew Leochares. But unforgettably as the goddess is seen, mourning for her daughter, the artist does not possess the brilliant inventive power of Leochares. The maternal, earth-bound figure is closely wrapped in her cloak, veiled and looking away over us: she has just sat down on the throne to receive the honour due to her and will soon hasten on again; the left leg is already pushed back impatiently. She must find her daughter again so that the earth can bring forth fruit once more. She is filled with the sacred mystery of her dedication, on which all life depends. Such a view of the goddess is certainly Attic in spirit, but to judge from the vivid modelling of the whole surface and the soft fullness of the naked parts, especially the neck, the sculptor must have been an Ionian.

The Apollo with diadem mentioned by Pliny (34, 79) may be identical with the statue which according to Pausanias stood beside the Apollo of Kalamis in front of the temple of Apollo Patroos. Winter was the first to surmise that this Apollo had come down to us in the Apollo Belvedere, because this statue is closely related to Leochares' Ganymede, which we only know, it is true, from very bad copies. Since the discovery of the Belvedere statue at the time of the Renaissance it has

FIG. 74

APPX. PL. 59

exerted a powerful influence on artists and in the finest of his descriptions Winckelmann caught a visionary glimpse of the original conception behind the Roman copy. We members of the post-Impressionist age find it more difficult to understand a work of this sort. The sculptor who made the copy in the age of the Antonine emperors has sacrificed the powerful tension of the muscles, which in the bronze Greek original made the bold stance credible, in favour of a smooth, simplifying surface charm, because at that time the aim was to make the corporeal world transparent and artists sought the divine above the world of the senses. The original life of the statue can be sensed more easily in the Basle replica. The sculptor responsible, working probably in the time of Nero, has transferred it to marble with great virtuosity. The original must be imagined, not as porcelain-smooth, but in bronze shimmering like gold. The Apollo was a late work of Leochares, the last legacy of the late classical style. Already it has lost the soft, swinging rhythm of Praxiteles' Hermes, whose surface, with soft bends, merges with the atmosphere around it; it stands stilly erect and is marked off from the surrounding world by fairly immobile outlines. This considerably enhances the impression of an apparition; the light ascent of the slender limbs gives the effect of weightlessness. The combination of movement and Being is sublimated into an epiphany that unites both. It is amazing how all this is prefigured in the slabs by Leochares from the Mausoleum, with their clean-lined figures sharply outlined against the background.

PLATE P. 227

We do not know the other works of Leochares for which we have literary evidence, but there is a Dionysus which may well be by him. The head has come down to us in a good, but ruined copy in Basle, the statue as a whole is tolerably well preserved in a large number of variants, a circumstance which indicates that it was very famous. The importance of the creation can only be recognized in the Basle head. As with the Zeus Brontaios and the Apollo, the treatment is lofty and astringent. The eyes are close set and look dreamily downward, but the sharply drawn lids stand out decisively from the softly arched eyebrows. The eyes express the same youthful strength with which the cheeks lie round the sides of the fine nose and the small, slightly open mouth. The god certainly has the loftiness of the late classical style, but in the withdrawn sublimity which he shares with other gods of this epoch he possesses an active force which guides and accompanies the worshipper. To judge by the enormous number of replicas and variants the work must have been extremely famous.

APPX. PL. 60

APPX. PL. 46, 47, 59

Leochares' path from the Zeus Brontaios to the Apollo leads to an eminence which distinguishes him from all his contemporaries. In the period of the Apollo, that is, after 330, we have observed the transition to the Hellenistic style, most clearly in the Ilissus relief and in record reliefs. For Leochares this period means only an intensification of his classical style as a whole, while in his contemporaries a profound disturbance is to be observed. It is thus deeply significant that for the Renaissance his Apollo became the classical ideal.

APPX. PL. 67, 57, 58

Praxiteles

The ancient historians of art put Praxiteles alongside Phidias, Polykleitos, Myron and Lysippos; according to Varro, every educated man knew what Praxiteles meant in the history of art. According to Pliny, his marble works were more success-

ful and famous than his bronze statues, but these too were extremely beautiful. Our excitement is thus intense and grows all the greater when we hear that over fifty statues and groups by him are mentioned in the literary sources; but the difficulty of identifying them becomes apparent at once when we learn that the only original preserved, *Hermes with the child Dionysus*, is identified only on the strength of a passing remark by Pausanias, in his description of the temple of Hera at Olympia. It is not mentioned among the famous works because it was felt to be a late work. The *boy from the sea near Marathon* is a mature treatment of the human portrait that in the *Hermes* is unintelligibly reined or over reined. To understand Praxitelean radiance we need only compare the *Apoxyomenos* of the Argive school or the *column drum* from Ephesus, which follows the mature classical style more and is close to the work of Kephisodotos. The best idea of Praxiteles' numerous groups of gods is to be gained from a votive relief in Eleusis: *Persephone with the torches* with which she illuminates the underworld, *Triptolemus on the snake chariot* on which he brings the corn to mankind and *Demeter holding up* with her left hand the sceptre which is the symbol of her sovereignty. There is literary evidence that there was a similar group in the temple of Demeter at Athens.

Praxiteles may have been the son of Kephisodotos. Pliny's statement that he reached his prime in 44 probably refers to the original of the *Aphrodite of Arles*, the first statue of the goddess to show her with the upper part of her body naked. The still more famous *Aphrodite of Cnidus*, likewise in marble, is certainly later, though to judge by the shape of the *hédra* it cannot be dated after 350-340. The early and mature classical periods preferred bronze, because it allows freer movement and because the surface tension corresponds with the classical desire for unity. Praxiteles turned back to marble again, as Alkamenes had already done, because it can be coloured with more delicate nuances and is also better suited to youthful and female figures. In addition, the skin of bronze forms a sharper boundary against the atmosphere, while marble lets in the light and merges with the atmosphere. Praxiteles must have been particularly concerned with *gámmos*, the treatment of the surface with volatile substances which bring out the tints. Finally, the stratification of the stone gives it a more lasting character in contrast to the mobile tension of bronze; the late classical style was much concerned, even in figures depicting movement, to lend the parts an air of tranquil Being.

In none of the copies of the *Aphrodite of Cnidus* is the right turn of the head preserved, so that one has to make do with restorations in plaster. To us naked statues of Venus are so much a matter of course that we must make a conscious effort to realize how bold an innovation it was to portray the goddess naked for the first time. Painting had led the way. There is no question of a profanation of the goddess; quite the opposite, in fact. She is moved still further away from everyday life and we are vouchsafed a glimpse into her most personal domain, just as in Plato the soul which ascends through Love to the vision of the Ideas sees them unclothed like statues in a sanctuary. It is in the action that we experience this unveiling of the Idea of the goddess, if we understand this action aright; she lets her clothing slip down over the *hédra* in which she has fetched water for her bath,

PLATE P. 227

PLATE P. 225

PLATE P. 217

PLATE P. 16

APPX. PL. 65

APPX. PL. 62

APPX. PL. 36

APPX. PL. 62

and in her glance and in the gesture there is an unconscious realization of the power of her unveiled beauty. Under the gently arching of the brow the eyes are small but wide open beside the high ridge of the nose and above the slightly open mouth, not in violent passion but in a warm inner feeling of intimacy.

In the body there is no hint of the individual charms—swellings and dimples—that later ages look for in figures modelled from the life, but just pure form; it is the phase of the statue of Eirene and the boy from the sea off Marathon. As in the latter, the form unfolds freely in space, with slight dislocations from the relief plane in delicate, rounded transitions. In no other work has Praxiteles come closer to the classical harmonious *contrapposto*, but he has produced his own version of it through the way in which the figure enters upon the scene and stretches itself; once again the divine is raised with indescribable brilliance above the human. The atmospheric element embraces every detail of the mobile surfaces with the fine shadows which were lightened by the transparency of the marble. The means borrowed from painting are completely in the service of the plastic—linear. The depth of the conception makes up for the loss of power which older portraits of the gods had possessed. No older art had been capable of making the innermost emotion of the fair soul visible in the body, of seeing loving and living as such a unity. One is once again reminded of Plato's *Phaedrus*, in which someone says that if mere physical beauty so delights our eyes, the sharpest of the senses, how great would our delight be if we had eyes for the Idea of beauty.

Praxiteles stands just as high among his contemporaries as Leochares and Plato. All three have noble characters, and in all three there is a link between their art and the tradition of the mature classical period. All three postulate the high level of culture which the older generations of the classical period had attained. All of them direct their gaze away from the transitory to Being itself. Plato only hints at the eternal Being of the Archetypes and points to them in a succession of fresh myths and trains of thought; the artists try to render visible the Ideas on which the world of appearances depends. Rodenwaldt said of the statue of Apollo killing a lizard: 'We realize with a thrill of delight that we are watching the god, without his being aware of us, in the happy peace of his blissful existence. If the essence of early classical images of gods was sublimity, Praxiteles gave concrete shape to the blissfulness of the divine existence.' Unlike his father Kephisodotos, Praxiteles does not need to lean on the externals of the mature classical style in order to transcend the rich style; he does not need any rhetorical force, as Leochares does; he is more spiritual than the Peloponnesians; and he does not confine himself like Silanion to simple, austere characterization. He makes the psychological delicacy which the rich style had acquired serve tranquil, fulfilled Being and in this way creates the most individual of the Greek portraits of the gods. No one has seen the wonder of life in such variety without losing himself in accidentals. His Hermes is the purest creation that has come down to us from the last period of late classical Athens; it is hardly comprehensible today that it was once accused of morbid softness and affectation and explained as a product of the Roman period. These misjudgements are a measure of the enormous gap between the present and the classical period.

PLATE P. 225

PLATES PP. 108, 81

APPX. PL. 19, 21

APPX. PL. 61

APPX. PL. 46, 47, 59

PLATE P. 217

APPX. PL. 45, 66

PLATE P. 227



PLATE 48 - Bronze boy from the sea off Marathon. *Athena*. Height 4 ft. 4 in. Cf. p. 224.

Praxiteles' late works reach out, as it were, from harmonious compactness into the intangible. In his maturity the Master rises above the ordinary conditions of life to a conscious enjoyment of the beauty of life, an enjoyment which filled Athens as a whole in those years. It was at this time that the stone auditorium of the theatre of Dionysus was built. The porches round the market place were adorned with paintings. Statues of the great men of the past were erected and the art of the funerary relief reached an amazing height, in which there is much of Praxiteles' manner. This world of the mind held out as long as it could against the confusion of the Macedonian Wars. Only the Peloponnesian Leokippos is spiritually involved in the new world of Alexander's kingdom, with the splendid sobriety of his portraits, the tragedy of his statues of Heracles and of athletes, the momentary and astringently dissonant character of his style.

APPX. PL. 66, 69, 71

Skopas

Pliny puts Skopas beside Praxiteles; Horace calls him the best sculptor in marble, just as Parrhasios was the best colourist. Other writers range him with Pheidias and Polykleitos. This may explain Pliny's erroneous statement that he flourished from 420 to 416. In reality we know from our discussion of the Mausoleum and the temple of Tegea that he was active in the third quarter of the fourth century. We know him best from these original works, but he was also active in Arcadia, Elis, Sicyon, Argos, Megara, Athens, Rhamnus, Boeotia, Cnidus, Ephesus, the Troad and Bithynia. The group consisting of Thetis and the Nereids, who are bringing weapons for Achilles, was brought to Rome by Domitius Ahenobarbus from Bithynia; there was also in Rome a seated Ares and an Aphrodite, both in the temple of Brutus Gallacius near the Circus Flaminius; in addition an enthroned Hestia and kanephoroi (basket-bearers), but above all the Apollo Palatinus, which we know from an Augustan relief. Most famous of all was the Maenad celebrated in epigrams and in a description by Kallistratos. The Dresden Maenad has been attributed to Skopas, because of its similarity to the east tree of the Mausoleum. The madness and frenzy of a Maenad was never more powerfully depicted, even in the archaic period.

APPX. PL. 53

The statue, preserved in many reproductions, of a hunter resting has much in common with Skopas' work in the shape of the head, the expression and the structure of the body. It is usually interpreted as Meleager. The grave relief from the Ilissus, which we were able to date to soon after 330, helps us to visualize the original of the Meleager. The relief is from Skopas' workshop, if not from his own hand. Common to both works is the combination of Peloponnesian and Attic in the body, and also the spiritual force of the expression and the heroic gaze of the youth.

APPX. PL. 67

FIG. 77

According to Pliny the famous Niobe group was attributed by many to Skopas, but by others to Praxiteles. It is true that the Florentine Children of Niobe, found in 1583 near the Lateran, have been subject to such strong Roman influence that they have been explained sometimes as Hellenistic, sometimes as Roman. But these interpretations fail to remember that in classicistic fashion the Romans always work with Greek components, and here the Greek kernel is clearly perceptible in the reproduction of a daughter of Niobe in the Vatican; this is of such high quality that Buschor long took it for the Greek original itself. In the central group of

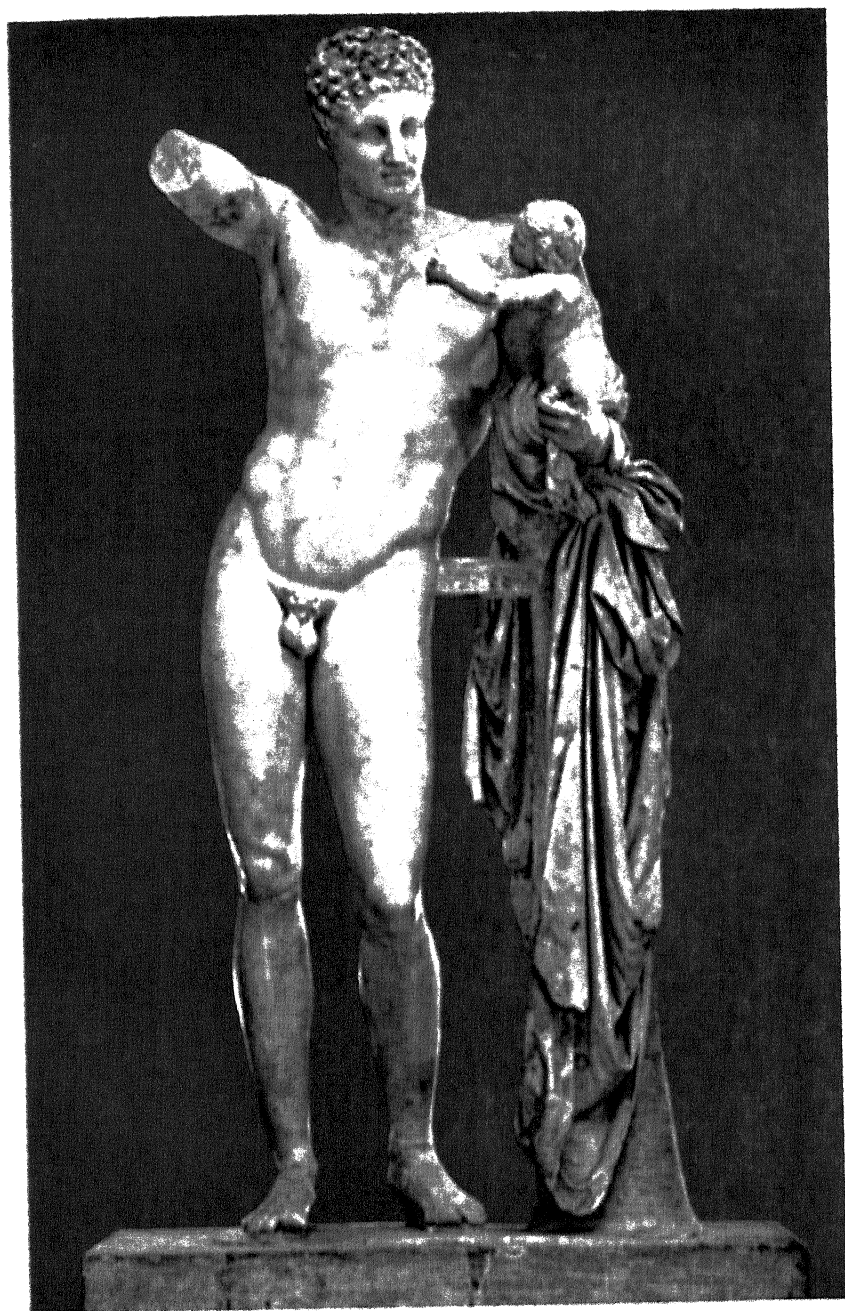


PLATE 49 - The Herms of Praxiteles. Parian marble, Olympia. Height 7 ft. 1 in. Cf. p. 224.



FIG. 77 - *Children of Niobe. Reconstruction after E. Hübner. Florence, Cf. p. 226.*

Niobe the slanting, climbing lines which converge from both sides on the middle and straighten up more and more, representing the search for help, united and crossed each other. The touching impotence in face of the hail of arrows from invisible hands gives the group its character. Originally there may have been fourteen children.

PLATE P. 66
FIGS. 39, 40

Behind the work as a whole are experiences like the battle of Chaeronea and the wars of Alexander, which involved the death of so many young men. In Niobid groups produced at the height of the classical period the radiance of life had been consciously realized at the moment of death and the incredibly cruel gods were still present. Now the gods have moved out of the world; there is only the suffering of the children, summed up in the mother's imploring upward glance. This makes the group a unity, placed over against the infinite in a new tragic conception which can be compared with that of the Stoic philosophers. Man has to accept the incomprehensible necessity of fate.

PLATES PP. 225, 227

If we found in Praxiteles the final fulfilment of Attic art — clarified ripeness, an elevation which we today are scarcely capable of rising to — in Skopas we admire the heroic element, youthful strength and passion. In his strong masculine bodies he resembles his Peloponnesian contemporaries, but he stands out from them through his Attic spirit and his inventive power. With the new methods of shaping space he develops possibilities already implicit in the work of Pheidias. He enriches and renews the classical style and at the same time prepares the way for the pathos of the extreme Hellenistic style. But with him the heroic is not yet a titanic, hopeless attempt to recapture the classical attitude, as it in the Hellenistic style; he still draws on the riches of that sublime period.

Euphranor

APPX. PL. 64

According to Pausanias the cult statue in the temple of Apollo Patroos in the market-place of Athens was by Euphranor. The architecture of the temple points to the years after 338, and the statue found in 1907 twenty yards south of the temple of Apollo in the north room of the Metroon belongs to the same period. The austere pose is surprising after the preceding works, but we are familiar from the record relief of 323 with an Athena which, with many other works, testifies to the

APPX. PL. 58

attempts of the Hellenistic tendency to express the numinous through a new austerity. The god wears, like Skopas' Rhamnusios, the festive garb of the cithara-player, but the music of the drapery now rings out clear and sharp, and the folds stand out from the surrounding space in order to enhance the solemnity of the figure. In comparison with the epiphany of the god by Leochares, a work only a few years older which was to be seen in front of the same temple, the cult statue here acquires a new solemnity which may have reminded many people of Pheidias' Athena Parthenos.

APPX. PL. 59

There is no stylistic link between this curious work and the pictures which reminded us of what our literary sources tell us about Euphranor. The head of this statue of Apollo is to be compared rather with the head of Paris which has come down to us in numerous copies and variants and of which Pliny says that all sides of Paris' character could be recognized in it — Helen's beloved, the slayer of Achilles and the umpire between the three goddesses. Another statue akin to it in the romantic, impressionistic treatment of the hair is the one of Alexander in the Munich Glyptothek, which goes back to a group with Philip of Macedon mentioned in the literary sources. The astringent strength of the thick-set body fits Euphranor's heroic kind of conception. The statue is characteristically different from the portraits of Alexander by great contemporaries — from the transfiguring glory of Leochares, the nervous excitement of Lysippos, and also from the passion of Skopas and the refinement of Praxiteles.

FIG. 33

To judge by his name, Bryaxis was of Carian origin and this seems to be confirmed by the many commissions he carried out in the East, although he is described as an Athenian. His latest attested work was the cult statue for the sanctuary of Apollo at Daphne near Antiochia, which was founded about 300 under Seleucus Nicanor, of whom Bryaxis also made a portrait. Bryaxis must thus have been a fairly young man when about 350 he had to work on the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus with the first sculptors. On the north side of the Mausoleum the statues of Mausolus and Artemisia have been found; the style fits in with that of the corresponding slabs, with their rich, vivid manner, broad bands of light and shade and long, supple figures. The expressive surface reflects strong spiritual life.

Bryaxis

PLATE P. 209

We possess an original work from Athens, too: the base of a statue adorned on three sides with tripods and horsemen and signed by Bryaxis. Unfortunately the quality of these reliefs is such that they can only have been executed by assistants, not by the master himself. The horses are like those on the slabs from the Mausoleum ascribed to Bryaxis.

APPX. PL. 48

Bryaxis' most famous work was the cult statue in the temple of Serapis at Alexandria. We are informed by Tacitus and Plutarch that Ptolemy Soter had this statue erected towards 285, and also that it was brought from a sanctuary of the god of the underworld near Sinope on the Black Sea. It was thus evidently made originally for Sinope. This is characteristic of the early Hellenistic period; the contemporaries of Zeno and Epicurus did not find it easy to create cult statues and as a result portraits of the gods are as rare in the early Hellenistic period as they are numerous in the late classical age. Obviously Bryaxis' Serapis originally represented an Anatolian god of the underworld, some deity like Hades, and was treated in Egypt as a

manifestation of Osiris, the god who in the religion of Isis promised eternal life. Even before Alexander's time the Greeks had christened this Osiris Serapis. He personified the most important thing that their new home could give Greeks, the hope of eternal life, and he made it a real home. The strangeness of the statue's adornment combined with the classical form to produce a numinous impression which exerted considerable influence throughout antiquity, until the temple of Serapis was destroyed in 391 A.D.

We are familiar with the statue from numerous reproductions in stone, bronze, wood, stucco, clay etc., but these are only a pale reflection of the colossal original, which was made of the most precious materials. The strongest impressions are given by a marble figure in Alexandria and a head in private ownership. In accordance with Asiatic custom the god is shown fully clothed, with a chiton under his cloak, like Mausolus. The wooden core was covered not with ivory and gold, but with a blue-black sheath of metal, which also reproduced the naked flesh and was brightened up with ornamentation of precious metals and jewels. Like the Zeus of Olympia, the god filled the whole width of the cella but was still mightier, for the temple was one of the biggest in the ancient world. He sat on a throne, holding the sceptre in his left hand and resting his right hand on Cerberus' middle head, the lion's head. Cerberus sat beside him and also had a dog's head and a wolf's head; round Cerberus wound a snake. The god's bearded face was deeply shadowed by thick locks of hair hanging down over his forehead. The crown worn by gods from Asia Minor - the modius - bore three olive trees in relief and ears of corn hung from the edge. On the back-rest of the throne hovered two Nikai, as they did on the throne of Zeus at Olympia; the footstool rested on lions' paws. But descriptions cannot capture the essence of the work - its Greek life, which may be imagined as similar in quality to that of the statue of Mausolus, and which was illuminated by the darkness of the underworld. Its great tranquillity was that of the late classical period; the original was probably created not long after 350. No doubt Bryaxis obtained the commission as a result of the fame he had won by his work on the Mausoleum.

APPX. PL. 48

FIG. 38

*Demetrios of
Alopeke*

Demetrios of Alopeke is described by Lucian as the creator of living people, with all the ugly realism this entailed, and contrasts him with the sculptors who made statues of the gods. Quintilian thought he went too far in this direction and says that Praxiteles and Lysippos came nearer to artistic truth. Unfortunately only one single portrait corresponding to this description can be traced to Demetrios in the strictest period attested for him by the style of his inscriptions. This is the one supposed to be Euripides, which is linked in a double hermè in Paris with what is supposed to be the oldest portrait of Sophocles. According to the epigraphers the period in question is the first half of the fourth century; the portrait was probably made towards 360. The sombre look, the tightly compressed mouth, the proud but also suffering expression fit the characterization of Euripides in the ancient *Life*. The poet is supposed to have hated laughter and women. The simple design is only a little more lively than that of the portrait of Thucydides; this suggests a date towards 360.

As we are not familiar with one single authenticated work by Demetrios, such an

attribution can only indicate the general tendency of his work, a tendency which we also find in the portrait of Antisthenes, which has come down to us in an unusually faithful form. Apart from Plato, Antisthenes was Socrates' most important friend and was regarded in antiquity as the founder of the Cynic school of philosophy; the Stoics too looked upon him as their forefather. He taught and practised the life of struggle against wants and lusts, a rough life of renunciation modelled on that of Heracles which he expounded to his contemporaries with biting wit. He also irritated them, as his pupil Diogenes did later, by neglecting his outward appearance; all he cared about was the wise man's self-control and spiritual freedom. He thought that Plato lacked a sense of reality, while Plato in return criticized Antisthenes' 'not ignoble joylessness'.

APPX. PL. 70

This portrait of Antisthenes has often been regarded as Hellenistic because its Demetrios-like character, in comparison with the work of Praxiteles and Lysippos, surprises us as much as it did the ancient art historians. The Hellenistic style is characterized by tension between figure and space and also by the fact that the tectonic structure is overlaid or broken up by a picturesque mobility of form; here this structure is still firm. The bold modelling of the eyebrow arches is found in late classical terracottas of actors. The framing of the face by the hair is familiar to us from the portrait of Euripides and the modelling of the mouth part is so similar in the portrait of Crates, the disciple of Antisthenes, that the two works were probably designed to go with each other. The difference in character fits in perfectly with the literary evidence. In comparison with the rugged Antisthenes, Crates was regarded as a kindly doctor of the soul. A beautiful daughter of rich parents, Hipparcheia by name, is supposed to have left everything out of love for him, in order to share his wandering life. He was called 'the first cosmopolitan'. 'Contentment and kindness, compassion and good will, and openness of mind and spirit transfigure the coarse, broad features of the countenance framed in uncared-for hair and beard.' Crates was supposed to have flourished in the years 328/325. To judge by the style, the original of the portrait must have been made about 330 B.C.; its erection may have been the occasion which led to the dedication of a portrait statue to Antisthenes too. Antisthenes had died about 365 B.C. The sharp lines of the brows and the mouth mark fierce accents in the basically still classical countenance. The brow is contracted in the stress of thought, the eyebrows swing outward with a pathetic twist. The unsymmetrical nature of the face strengthens the expression of its more active left side; here the locks of hair have a bigger swing, too. The hair over the brow is ruffled, as in the portrait of Zeus, though not in such an ordered way; even so the boldness and individuality of the thinker is made to appear as something splendid. Antisthenes reflects the strength of Heracles, his hero; the effect the portrait gives is that of a wild and uncultured opponent of the limpid Plato.

APPX. PL. 69

On the other hand we do not know Demetrios' most famous work, the statue — mentioned by Pliny — of Lysimache, who was priestess of Athena for 64 years. The base of this statue has been discovered; it indicates that the statue was erected in the second quarter of the fourth century and was — to judge by the footprint — three ells high, which could well be the actual height of an old woman. It is

APPX. PL. 63

APPX. PL. 51

APPX. PL. 68

PLATE P. 209

Lysippos

APPX. PL. 66

PLATE P. 136

tempting to identify this statue with the one in Basle which Ernst Berger has restored so successfully with the head from the British Museum, but the Basle statue cannot be dated after 445. On the other hand we may well know Lysimache's old servant, a statue of whom, only an ell high, according to Pausanias stood by the side of Lysimache. The base of this statue has been discovered, too; the servant bore the Egyptian name Syeris. An excellent Roman bronze statuette in Vienna has been recognized as a reproduction; stylistically the original would seem to have dated from before the record relief of 355, like the Athena of Arezzo and the 'Sardanapalus'. There is no sign of the spatial tensions of the Hellenistic period, to which some people have wished to assign the old woman, and the austere attitude and deep girdle must predate the ripe late classical style. Confirmation of the statuette's antecedents is provided by its garb, which resembles that of the priestesses of Isis and thus fits the name Syeris. This makes the statuette an important early piece of testimony to the penetration of the cult of Isis to Athens. The softly blended features of the old face and the simple hair-style are best understood if we assume that they date from after Silanion's Plato and Thucydides, but from before Mausolus and the full late classical spatial development. On this basis the early dating of the London head can be corroborated; there was probably an old priestess on the Acropolis in the middle of the fifth century too. The sculptor of the servant is given in the inscription as Nikomachos, an artist only known to us from a number of inscriptions who was obviously a colleague of Demetrios.

So far as his most famous works are concerned, Lysippos belongs to the age of Alexander the Great and the early Hellenistic period. His portraits of Alexander were more famous than any others, and Pliny accordingly gives as his *floruit* the 113th Olympiad, 328/325. But his earliest dated statue, that of Pelopidas, was erected before 368. Like Leochares, Praxiteles and Silanion, he must have been born soon after 400 and have lived to a great age. The Alexander Hunting Lions, which he made with Leochares, was put up in 318, and Sicyonian coins dating from 310 show, as a subsidiary emblem, a Heracles at rest which on stylistic grounds cannot be much older. The sculptor must have produced this work when he was nearly ninety. Only the works of his old age are clearly identifiable; here we are solely concerned with the few that are known from the late classical period.

Douris of Samos says that Lysippos began as an ordinary bronze-caster and that he heard from Eupompos, the founder of the Sicyonian school of painting, that one should imitate nature, not an artist. In the Peloponnesian school we have observed a sense of the physical and individual which with Lysippos comes to predominate and prevails over the classical approach. His sense of the momentary provoked another remark, that he modelled men as they seem to be, while in the classical period artists had modelled men as they are. For this reason the strictest classicism rejected Lysippos; his name is missing in Lucian, while he is grouped by others with Polykleitos, Pheidias and Myron. He is said to have produced 1500 works; he put aside one gold coin from each fee, so the story goes, and after his death 1500 were found. He is said to have declared that his model was the Doryphoros of Polykleitos; he consciously confronted this canon with a new one.

For us the purest example of Lysippos' canon is the athlete scraping himself, in the Vatican; Pliny says that the original of this statue was Lysippos' first work. The athlete is scraping his right arm with the strigil; the left arm tones down the harshness of the forward stretching movement. The bold motif emphasizes the momentary and pushes out into space, which is no longer the mere attribute that it is elsewhere in the late classical style. This is the beginning of that tension between figure and space that characterizes the Hellenistic style. The free leg is placed more to the side than to the back; this emphasizes the plane surface, and inorganic elements enter the compositional structure. In addition, the free leg takes some of the weight. The stance thereby becomes more mobile, less burdened, and together with the more slender proportions produces a more upstanding and momentary effect. The musculature is taut and small, the limbs play lightly and elastically in the joints, the upper part of the body rocks on the hips. Spherical forms are sought everywhere. The eye is small in relation to the head, the hair lies in a loose, apparently undisciplined mass. In spite of all this so much of the classical vitality is preserved that the work cannot be dated after 330, the time of the Hermes. Alongside the refined harmony of Praxiteles and the spiritual fire of Skopas stands this fresh, youthful strength – the world seems to be rejuvenated, as if by the genius of Alexander.

APPX. PL. 66

PLATE P. 227

With what brilliance this sense of reality embraces even the most intellectual subject is shown by the statuette which transmits his portrait of Socrates, and even more by the portrait of Aristotle, which bore the inscription, 'Alexander erected [this statue of] the son of Nikomachos, who possessed all wisdom, the divine Aristotle'. The attribution to Lysippos is based on the fact that he was Alexander's sculptor; the character fits in with that of the athlete scraping himself. The hair is carefully combed down over the bald brow and the well cared-for beard is carefully cut round the strong chin. The wide, finely curved mouth is determined, mocking, with contemptuously turned down corners and always ready with a sharp, clever remark. The small eyes gaze at us coolly and critically, unswayed by any passion, sharply sifting truth from falsehood. The cranium broadens out wilfully towards the top, a majestic 'dome of intelligence', of cosmopolitan mind. This clear, rational spirit is far from the mysteries of Plato, the passion of Socrates and the creative power of the great poets; this is the first sign of that intellect divorced from art which today has achieved predominance. It is wonderful how the sublimity of the interpretation, the clarity of the inner being, stands out from the manner of Demetrios. The same conclusion is conveyed by an epigram by an unknown Greek poet:

APPX. PL. 71

APPX. PL. 66

APPX. PL. 68, 69

'Pure mind and Aristotle
Are one. They are one in this portrait too.'

Let us compare the portrait of Aristotle with those of Plato, Euripides and Antisthenes, in order to survey once more the path taken by the late classical style. It has long been seen that this portrait of Euripides and the one of Aristotle are by the same hand, much as the originals have been altered in the copies. The thinned-out locks, with their fine curves over the brow, the neat, short beard and its roots in

APPX. PL. 68-71

the sunken cheeks are surprisingly similar, even if the characters and period are different.

- APPX. PL. 69 Lysippos sees in Euripides not so much suffering as the princeliness of the creator of a world of imaginary figures which have influenced all subsequent drama more strongly than those of Aeschylus and Sophocles. In addition, the work reflects the lofty self-consciousness of the ripe late classical style round the middle of the century, when Athens could still provide powerful opposition to the Macedonians, and when an Attic-trained sculptor sought, in the statue of the barbarian prince Mausolus, to capture the dignity and greatness of the oriental dynast and a little later, in the statue of Serapis, created one of the most influential images of a god.
- PLATE P. 209
APPX. PL. 48 If we compare these accomplishments of the late classical style with heads in the rich style, such as that of the oriental from the Nereid monument, we find in the latter two-dimensional pictorial shading made to serve momentary spiritual excitement, but in the former a plastic modelling and articulation that shapes every lock of hair as an individual, space-creating structure. In portraiture we found this modelling and articulation of space first in Silanion's Socrates and Plato, then in a fuller and more powerful form in the Zeus of the Arcadian coins, which probably goes back to Leochares. But it was still a big step from this to the Euripides. In the Zeus the hair was still a thick crown; the whole did not yet possess the firm inner structure first achieved at the time of the statues of Mausolus and Euripides. We find the same difference if we compare the Amazons of Epidauros and Halicarnassus; in the former, supple, gliding movement; in the latter, fulfilled, firmly built Being.
- APPX. PL. 35
- APPX. PL. 68
APPX. PL. 47 Lysippos' brilliant combination of individual psychology with timeless greatness in his Euripides strongly influenced grave reliefs. In his Socrates he attains sublimity, and Demetrios, the sculptor of the portraits of Antisthenes and Crates, probably went still further along the same path. On the funerary reliefs of Alexander's time the passionate language of the soul stimulated by Lysippos and Demetrios often recalls contemporary classical rhetoric. Yet these craftsmen preserve a firm boundary between the individual portrait of the great man and the bourgeois carving that only means, 'here rests a beautiful and good woman, a righteous man, youth or old man who felt in his own way the happiness and sorrow of the mortal'.
- PLATE P. 200
APPX. PL. 53 Lysippos still saw Alexander the Great in late classical splendour, and the sculptor of the Alexander sarcophagus also preserves something of this attitude. But with Alexander's victories the closed world of late classical Athens burst asunder. On the Ilissus relief and in the portrait of Aristotle one can see how the spatiality breaks up, how with the new loneliness unsuspected views also open up into the depths of the soul. Lysippos' late statues of gods and heroes show the same change. If in his Heracles 'on the table' he had once again created the happy comrade of the Olympian gods, the resting Heracles, which one can visualize better from the splendid fragment of a copy in Basle than from the statue in Naples, is the epitome of tragic humanity. After all his heroic activity only exhaustion and submission remain. It is the tragedy of a world in which the divine has become the Stoics' 'cosmic destiny' and no longer reveals itself in human form as it did in the tragedies of the mature classical period.
- APPX. PL. 70, 67
- PLATE P. 189
APPX. PL. 67, 71

APPENDICES

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NOTES TO THE TEXT

Simultaneously with this book the Artemis Verlag published a one-volume *Dictionary of the Ancient World* in which the reader will find all the necessary supplementary information. I should like to draw attention particularly to the articles on Mythology by L. Huber, K. Schauenburg and H. Sichtermann, on Sculpture by Ernst Berger, on Architecture by Gottfried Gruben, on Painting and Mosaics by Clemens Krause and on Vase-Painting by Ingeborg Scheibler. In addition, Gruben has given us an outstanding picture of Greek architecture in the book which he wrote in co-operation with H. Berve, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer*, 1961. This is supplemented by the handbooks of W.B. Dinsmoor (3rd ed., 1950) and R. Martin (1965). Then there are also the beautiful illustrations and plans in the concise survey by H. Kähler, *Der griechische Tempel* (1964); for sculpture, the exhaustive handbooks by Georg Lippold (*Handbuch der Archäologie*, 3, 1, 1950), Charles Picard, *Manuel de la sculpture grecque* 3.4 (1948 and 1963) and (especially for miniatures) G.M.A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (1959). One of the most attractive books on the subject is still H. Brunn's *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* (1857, 2nd ed., 1889); for painting one should also consult E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (1923), A. Rumpf's contribution in the *Handbuch der Archäologie* 4, 1 (1953) and P. E. Arias, 'Storia della ceramica. . . e della pittura' (*Enc. Class.*, 3, 11, 5, 1963); for vase-painting, also P. E. Arias, *A History of Greek Vase-Painting*, translated and revised by B. B. Shefton (1962) and above all J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figure Vase-Painters* (1942, 2nd ed., 1963); but one should also read all his earlier writings, especially *Attic Red-Figure Vases in American Museums* (1918), and likewise those of Ernst Buschor, whose *Griechische Vasen* (1940) remains a classic. G. M. A. Richter has just published a comprehensive Greek iconography (*The Portraits of the Greeks*, 1965); cf. also K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse der antiken Dichter, Redner und Denker* (1943) and *Griechische Dichterbildnisse* (1965). M. Bieber touches on the late classical style in his book, *The Sculpture of the Hellenistic Age* (2nd ed., 1961). Buschor was the first to sketch a comparative stylistic history of tragedy and contemporary pictorial art in his notes to his translations of the Greek tragedies (Aeschylus 1953, 1958; Sophocles, 1954, 1959; Euripides, 1952, 1957, 1960, 1963). He used to say that the most important texts for the understanding of classical art were the tragedies. Cf. also T. B. L. Webster, *Greek Art and Literature, 530-400* (1939); *Art and Literature in Fourth-Century Athens* (1956); and in addition K. Schefold, *Gnomon*, 1958, 241-3; J. Dörig, *Gnomon*, 1963, 606-9.

The following remarks are intended to supplement the individual references in the lists of illustrations:

PAGE 4

MOTTO: see A. Rumpf, foot of p. 198. PAGE 11: I have described how the new image of the classical period arose in *Orient, Hellas und Rom* (1949), 14-29. In *Die Skulpturen des Zeustempels zu Olympia*, 1924, E. Buschor has shown others than mere specialists how to see the severe style of the early classical period as an attitude that particularly concerns us today. The mature classical period was freshly interpreted by E. Langlotz, whose address on the Greek classical period (1931) appeared in new versions in 1943 and 1946. In *Die klassische Kunst Griechenlands* (1938) Ludwig Curtius dealt with the history of art down to the fourth century. In *Vom Sinn der griechischen Standbilder*, 1942, E. Buschor demonstrated the central position of the classical period in world history, and in *Theoi Rheiä Zoontes* (1943) G. Rodenwaldt portrayed the classical character of the fourth century, which had almost been forgotten in the enthusiasm for the century of tragedy. The Parthenon period is

- PAGE 32 PICTURES OF THE DESTRUCTION OF TROY: Pfuhl, plates 378, 420. K. Schefold, *Griech. Kunst*, 86, plate 8. Idem, 'Gestaltungen', *AM*, 77, 1962, 136, 32. Neumann, note 425, fails to recognize the brilliant notion of mirroring the horror in Polyxena's soul; in spite of the inscription he calls her Helen.
- PAGE 34 THE DEMETER OF ONATAS: E. Homann-Wedeking, 'Zu Meisterwerken des strengen Stils', *RM*, 55, 1940, 208-18.
THE GOLDEN SHIELD ON THE TEMPLE OF ZEUS: H. Luschey, *Die Phiale* (1939), 15f. Pausanias 5, 10, 4.
- PAGE 37 THE WORK OF THE VASE-PAINTERS: A. Furtwängler and K. Reichhold, *Griech. Vasenmalerei* (1904-1932). Beazley, op. cit. (note to p. 22).
- PAGE 40 TREASURY OF THE ATHENIANS AT DELPHI: K. Schefold, *Griechische Plastik* (1949), plates 77-81. P. de la Coste-Messelière, 'Sculptures du trésor des Athéniens', *Fouilles de Delphes*, 4, 4, 1957.
- PAGE 41 SANCTUARY OF THESEUS: H. A. Thompson, 'The Sanctuary of Theseus in Athens', *Am. Journ.*, 69, 1965, 177, now recognizes as this the building on the south side of the market-place which he had earlier taken for the Heliaia (*The Athenian Agora: a Guide*, 1962, No. 55), and dates the oldest sanctuary of Theseus in the first half of the sixth century.
J. D. Beazley, *Attische Vasenmaler*, 1925, p. 172.
- PAGE 44 J. D. Beazley, *Der Kleophradesmaler*, 1930.
- PAGE 45 AXIS OF THE HANDLES: B. Neutsch, 'Henkel und Schalenbild', *Marburger Jahrbuch*, 14, 1949, 1-16.
- PAGE 56 THESEUM: see above, note to page 41.
CRATER IN FLORENCE: *ARV*, 2nd ed., 541, 1.
- PAGE 64 THEMISTOCLES: portrait: basically, L. Curtius, *RM*, 57, 1942, 78-91. Most recently, H. Sichtermann, *Gymnasium*, 71, 1964, 348-81.
- PAGE 65 TREASURY OF THE ATHENIANS: (note above on p. 40) to be distinguished from the later treasury by the temple of Athena: J. Marcadé, 'Sculptures inédites de Marmaria', *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 79, 1955, 407-18.
- PAGE 73 DIPYLON: G. Gruben, 'Die Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos', *Arch. Anz.*, 1964, 390-419, especially 416f.
- PAGE 75 ARGOS: E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (1927), 54-67. V. H. Poulsen, 'Der Strenge Stil', *Acta Archaeol.*, 8, 1937, 1-148. Lippold, 88f., 103f. W. H. Gross, 'Kultbilder, Blitzschwinger und Hageladas', *RM*, 70, 1963, 13-19. W. Schwabacher, *RM*, 72, 1965, 209-12. G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook* (1959), 201; plate 304.
- PAGE 86 GESTURES AND ATTITUDES: Neumann, passim.
- PAGE 87 PORTRAIT OF HOMER: R. and E. Boehringer, *Homer* (1939). K. Schefold, *Griech. Dichterbildnisse* (1965).
- PAGE 94 SICYON: E. Langlotz, *Frühgriechische Bildhauerschulen* (1927), 30-53. Lippold, 86f., 104f. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke* (1960), 38f., 55.
- PAGE 95 CORINTH: Langlotz, op. cit., 80-85. H. Payne, *Necrocorinthia* (1931). *Corinth: Results of Excavations*, 1932ff. Lippold, 86f., 104f. *Perachora*, 1 (1940); 2 (1962) (Reviewed by J. Benson, *Gnomon*, 1964, 399).
- PAGE 97 PURSUIT OF LOVE: K. Schauenburg, *LAW*, art. 'Götterliebe'.
SPARTA: Langlotz, op. cit., 86-98. Lippold, 105f. Chr. Karusos, 'Ein lakonischer Apollon', *Charites, Festschrift Langlotz* (1957), 33-37. E. Kunze, 7. *Olympia-bericht* (1961), 169-80.
- PAGE 98 PAROS: Langlotz, op. cit., 132-6. Lippold, 114f. Chr. Karusos, 'Notes sur une stèle funéraire', *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 62, 1938, 97-103. Idem, 'An Early Classical Disc Relief from Melos', *Journ. Hell. St.*, 71, 1951, 96-110. Idem, 'Eine Mädchenstele kimonischer Zeit', *AM*, 71, 1956, 245-53. Idem, 'Stelenfragment aus Amorgos', *AM*, 76, 1961, 115-20. O. Rubensohn, *Das Delion von Paros* (1962).
- PAGE 99 LUDOVISI THRONE: E. Simon, *Die Geburt der Aphrodite* (1959) (Bib.). Chr. Kardara, 'Some Remarks on the Ludovisi Relief', *AM*, 76, 1961, 81-90.
NIOBIDS: Lippold, 176f. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke* (1960), 76-78; nos. 294-7.

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- PAGE 100 MELOS: Chr. Karusos, 'An Early Classical Disc Relief from Melos', *Journ. Hell. St.*, 71, 1951, 96-110.
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- RELIEF OF HORSEMAN IN CHIOS: K. Kuruniotis, 'Archaïotetes', *Deltion*, 2, 1916, 212f., plate 37.
- CHATSWORTH APOLLO: K. A. Pfeiff, *Apollon*, 1943, 84-86, plates 34f. Lippold, 122, 9. O. Masson, 'Kypriaka', *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 88, 1964, 212-13, plate 9.
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- PAGE 101 IONIC TEMPLES in Samos, Miletus and Locri: Berve-Gruben, 233-43.
- IONIAN ARTISTS IN PERSEPOLIS: G. M. A. Richter, 'Greeks in Persia', *Am. Journ.*, 50, 1946, 15-30. A. W. Lawrence, 'Acropolis and Persepolis', *Journ. Hell. St.*, 71, 1951, 111-19. P. Amandry, 'Toreutique achéménide', *Antike Kunst*, 2, 1959, 38-56. G. Nylander, 'Old Persian and Greek Stonecutting', *AJA*, 69, 1965, 49-55.
- PAGE 103 XANTHOS: Lippold, 67. *Fouilles de Xanthos*, 1, 1958 = P. Demargne, *Les piliers funéraires*.
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- BORDER REGIONS: H. Biesantz, *Die thessalischen Grabreliefs* (1965). E. Akurgal, 'Zwei Grabstelen... aus Sinope', *111. Berl. Winckelmannsprogramm*, 1955. G. Bakalakis, *Proanaskaphikes Ereunes sti Thraki*, 1958. Idem, 'Therme-Thessaloniki', in *Neue Ausgrabungen in Griechenland*, 1st supplement to *Antike Kunst*, 1963. J. Boardman, 'Greek Archaeology on the Shores of the Black Sea', *Journ. Hell. St.*, 84, 1964, 34-51. J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas*, 1964.
- CYRENE: F. Chamoux, *Cyrene*, 1953. E. Paribeni, *Catal. delle sculture*, 1959.
- PAGE 106 MAGNA GRAECIA: B. Ashmole, *Greek Sculpture in Sicily and South Italy*, 1934. U. Jantzen, *Bronzewerkstätten*, 13th supplementary fascicle to *JdI*, 1937. Lippold, 126-9. E. Langlotz, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen* (1963), with particularly rich samples of the art of Tarentum. Cf. on this subject K. Schefold, 'Zwei tarentinische Meisterwerke', *Mus. Helv.*, 8, 1951, 171-6. J. Dörig, 'Tarentin. Knöchelspielerinnen', *Mus. Helv.*, 16, 1959, 29-58.
- The connection of the NIOBIDS with Tarentum, which G. Hafner, *Ein Apollonkopf* (1962), 42-64 (see above, note on p. 99) assumes is not clear to me. The Frankfurt head is a modern work based on the original statue in the Neues Museum. R. M. Cook, *Niobe* (1964), takes a different view.
- PYTHAGORAS: Lippold, 124-6. E. Langlotz, *Frühgriech. Bildhauerschulen* (1927), 147-52. K. Schefold, *Meisterwerke* (1960), 65f. L. Curtius, 'Zu einem Kopf im Museo Chiaramonti', *JdI*, 59, 1944, 1-44. E. Langlotz, *Kunst der Westgriechen* (1963), 75f., plates 84-87. X. Ch. Hofkes, 'Pythagoras of Rhegium: A Phantom?', *BA Beschav.*, 1964, 107-14.

	ENTHRONED GODDESS, BERLIN: Ashmole, loc. cit. Langlotz, <i>Westgriechen</i> , loc. cit., 50f. ('about 460').
PAGE 107	CLAY RELIEFS FROM LOCRI: Q. Quagliati, <i>Atenae</i> , 3, 1958, 116-234. P. Zancani Montuoro, 'Note sui soggetti', <i>Atti e Memorie</i> , 1954, 1-36. Idem, 'La teogamia', <i>Archivum Historicum</i> , 24, 1955, 283-308. Idem, 'Il corredo della sposa', <i>Arch. Class.</i> , 12, 1960, 37-50. Idem, 'Persefone e Afrodite sul mare', <i>Ercevi Lehmann</i> (1964), 386-95.
	BOSTON THRONE: H. Möbius, 'Zum Problem des Bostoner Throns', <i>Charites, Festschrift Langlotz</i> , 1957, 47-58. Idem, 'Kissen oder Schlauch: zur Problematik des Bostoner Throns', <i>A.A.</i> , 1964, 293-300. E. Simon, <i>Die Geburt der Aphrodite</i> , 1959, 56-112. Finally C. Vermeule, 'Greek Sculpture', <i>Class. Journal</i> , 57, 1962, 154. F. L. Baster, 'Das Bostoner Relief', <i>Bull. Ant. Beach</i> , 48, 1963, 1-27. E. Homann-Wedeking, 'Fehltheitsargumente', <i>A.A.</i> , 1963, 229-31. H. Jucker, <i>Mus. Helv.</i> , 22, 1965, 117-24. Loerian relief showing an old woman, dug up after the Boston Throne: P. Zancani Montuoro, 'Corredo', <i>Arch. Class.</i> , 12, 1960, plate 8, 1.
	TORSOS, BRONZES AND TERRACOTTAS FROM SYRACUSE AND SURROUNDING NEIGHBOURHOOD: E. Langlotz, <i>Kunst der Westgriechen</i> (1961), plates 39, 41, 43, 46-49, 76, 95, 129f.
PAGE 111	BUILDINGS UNDER PERICLES: C. Weickert, <i>Abhandl. Berlin</i> , 1930, Berve-Gruben, 168ff., 280f. (Bib.).
PAGE 112	GIGANTOMACHY: A. von Salis, 'Die Gigantomachie am Schilde der Athena Parthenos', <i>Jdl</i> , 55, 1940, 90-160. Only the Naples crater gives an idea of Phidias' painting; the other 'giant' vases are loosely related to the truces on the drapery of Athena; cf. K. Schefold, <i>Orient, Hellen und Rom</i> (1940), 70. B. Andreac, 'Gefässkörper und Malerei', <i>RM</i> , 65, 1958, 31-40.
PAGE 114	SIGNIFICANCE OF FUNERAL ART: E. Buschor, 'Attische Lekythen der Parthenonzeit', <i>Münchener Jb.</i> , 1923, 6ff. Idem, <i>Von griech. Kunst</i> (1930), 123-44. K. Friis Johansen, <i>The Attic Grave Reliefs</i> (1931). Finally, K. Schefold, <i>Antike Kunst</i> , 8, 1965, 87-90. Chr. Karouzos, 'Telanges Mucina', <i>Charakterion</i> , 1, K. Orlandon, 3, 1965, 268-77.
PAGE 117	PICTURES OF MUSIC: E. Buschor, <i>Griechische Vasen</i> , 1935, 2-6f. M. Wegner, <i>Das Musikleben der Griechen</i> (1949). Idem, 'Griechenland', in H. Besseler and M. Schneider, <i>Musikgeschichte in Bildern</i> , II, 4 (2.2. 1961).
PAGE 122	ORIGINAL FORM OF THE CORINTHIAN CAPITAL: cf. note to page 204.
PAGE 130	THE POSEIDON OF PHIDIAS AS TRITON: H. Thompson, 'The Odeion', <i>Hesperia</i> , 19, 1950, 116-24, plate 64.
PAGE 133	OTHER WORKS OF PHIDIAS: Lippold, 141-57; plate 51, 61, 2. E. Paribeni, 'Sculture greche', <i>Mus. Nag. Romano</i> (1954), no. 11.
PAGE 134	TEMPLE OF HERA AT ARGON: G. Roux, <i>L'architecture de l'Argolide</i> (1961), 57-62.
PAGE 135	E. Buschor, <i>Kriegertum der Parthenonzeit</i> (1941); shortened version in <i>Von griechischer Kunst</i> (1956), 119f.
PAGE 137	DIADOUMENOS: Lippold, plate 59, 2. E. Homann-Wedeking, <i>F.A.A.</i> , 3, 1960, 89f.
PAGE 138	PERICLES OF KRESILAS: Lippold, plate 52, 4. G. M. A. Richter, <i>Greek Portraits</i> , 4 (1962), 12-16. To judge by its style, the work must have been created as early as around 445—an important testimony to Pericles' early fame.
PAGE 139	KRESILAS AND THE PARTHENON: E. Buschor, <i>Phidias der Monach</i> (1948), 100-3.
	DIONYSUS OF MYRON: may well still be recognizable, in spite of the mannered remodelling, in the bronze bust in Naples, which was last discussed by L. Curtius and identified as Priapus ('On the Dionysus from Herculaneum', <i>Epochen</i> , 1955, 230-234). The distance from the splendid conception to the remodelling as Priapus is too great. The Naples bust goes back to a statue showing its subject in movement, and we may assume that Myron's Dionysus on Helikon was a statue of this kind. The clean-limbed mobility recalls the Athena of the Marzayas group.
PAGE 145	ERICTHIDES: J. Dörig, <i>Neue Zürcher Zeitung</i> , 28, 2, 1965, no. 824.
	SANCTUARY OF THESEUS: see above, p. 41.

- PAGE 146 TEMPLE OF ARES: H. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora*, 1962, 27, 67-69, 129f., 132. Schlörb U, 34-36.
- PAGE 150 MEDUSA RONDANINI: E. Buschor, *MR* (1958).
RELIEFS FROM SOUTH RUSSIA: M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks* (1922), plates 19-22. G. M. A. Richter, 'A Greek Sword Sheath from South Russia', *Metrop. Mus. Studies*, 4, 1932, 109-30. Idem, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (1959), 206f. K. Schefold, 'Der skythische Tierstil', *Eurasia*, 12, 1938, 25f., 39-41; figs. 32-35. Idem, *Gnomon*, 1939, 332. Other metal reliefs: foot of p. 190.
GRAVE RELIEFS: H. Diepolder, *Die attischen Grabreliefs* (1931). N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *Studien zum Ilisosrelief* (1956). Cf. also top of p. 114: meaning of funerary art.
- PAGE 151 RECORD RELIEFS and their Egyptian prototypes: Neumann, p. 214f., note.
ALCIBIADES: 411 Abydos, 410 Cyzicus, 409 Byzantium, 408 festive home-coming; A. Michaelis, 'Die Zeit des Neubaus des Poliastempels in Athen', *AM*, 14, 1889, 349-66. Schlörb U, 39.
- PAGE 154 RELIEF OF THE VILLA ALBANI: Diepolder, *ibidem*, plate 9. Schlörb U, 38, 68, 35.
RICH STYLE PAINTING: Pfuhl, paras. 734-68. Finally Dohrn, 80-83.
- PAGE 155 LUCANIAN, CAMPANIAN AND APULIAN VASES: A. D. Trendall, *Frühitaliotische Vasen* (1938). J. D. Beazley, 'Groups of Campanian Red-Figure', *Journal Hell. Stud.*, 1943, 66-111. A. D. Trendall, *Paestan Pottery* (1936). Idem, 'Paestan Addenda', *Papers Rome*, 27, 1959, 1-37. Idem, 'Vasi italoti ed etruschi a figure rosse (del Vaticano)', 1. 2. 1953. Idem, *Phlyax Vases* (1959). Idem, *Handbook to the Nicholson Museum* (2nd ed., 1948), 315-36.
- PAGE 157 ZEUXIS' CENTAUR FAMILY: G. Hafner, *Geschichte der griech. Kunst* (1961), 260f.
- PAGE 158 ALKAMENES: Schlörb U, 30f., sees this master only as a patriotic Athenian; to me the literary evidence seems to connect him more with Euripides, Parrhasios and Zeuxis than with Sophocles.
- PAGE 159 DEMETER (Capitol): Schlörb U, 38, 68, 34. Alkamenes on the Parthenon: E. Buschor, *Phidias* (1948), 103-11.
HERA (Berlin-Florence-Spada): J. Johnson, *Am. Journ.*, 33, 1929, 400. Schlörb U, 32, 32. Lippold, 185, 10.
ON HEPHAESTUS AND ATHENE, the cult statues in the Hephaestum, basically S. Karouzou, 'Alkamenes und das Hephaisteion', *AM*, 69/70, 1954/55, 67-94, plate 10. Schlörb U, 28f., 9-16 argues against the attribution of the Athena Cherkel and in favour of Langlotz's suggestion of the Athena Hope. But can this be dated so late and does it fit in with Alkamenes' individuality?
Finally, on the SCULPTURAL DECORATIONS OF THE HEPHAESTEUM, see H. A. Thompson, *AJA*, 66, 1962, 339-47. E. B. Harrison, *Hesperia*, 33, 1964, 81-82. Schlörb U, 61f., with correct dating and assignment to Myron's school, which, unlike the assignment to Alkamenes, cannot be supported by the important evidence of the cult statues. I can see no connection with the essence of Myron's art and the 'legitimate' movement; on the Hephaestum everything is heavier and fuller, and the intellectual attitude, the pictorial invention are very much those of Alkamenes. This is not to deny that Myron influenced the metopes. I must confess that I have never understood Buschor's attribution of the first south metope of the Parthenon to Myron (*Phidias*, 1948, 90f.); in the Centaur head of this metope, the most spiritual of all, I see, with Schweitzer and Langlotz, the genius of Pheidias.
- PAGE 161 CULT STATUE OF DIONYSUS: E. Langlotz, 'Alkamensprobleme', *108 BWPr.*, 1952. Most nearly related is the Artemis-Bendis of the Piraeus attributed by S. Karouzou, *AM*, 69/70, 1954/55, 75f.; cf. Schlörb U, 29, 1. 63.
ARES BORGHESE: lastly B. Freyer, 'Zum Kultbild und Skulpturenschmuck des Arestempels', *JdI*, 77, 1962, 211-26 and Schlörb U, 30, whose interpretation of its spiritual content comes to grief on the fact that Ares always remained the wild, restless god of war.
ASCLEPIUS: lastly Schlörb U, 31f. C. Vermeule, 'Greek, Roman and Etruscan

Sculptures', *Am. Journ.*, 68, 1964, 126, plate 97, fig. 6. The brilliant idea, accepted for ever after, of depicting a god as feeling with mankind and leaning on a stick must go back to the most important sanctuary, the one in Athens; it seems at once to have influenced Mantinea, where Pausanias saw an Asclepius by Alkamenes. This type appears on Mantinean coins of the imperial period, though certainly on those of many other places as well (L. Jacoux, *Les reproductions des statues*, 1949, 21). Stylistically the tired attitude fits best into the years around 450.

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LEANING APHRODITE: most recently, Schlorb U, 179f., who, as in the case of Asclepius, reconstructs from the reproductions two different original statues, although historically it is hardly conceivable that such a number of similar cult statues existed alongside each other in classical Athens. The seated Aphrodite, which Langlotz takes for the one in the gardens by Alkamenes, could have stood in the sanctuary on the northern slope of the Acropolis, as now Schlorb U, 20f., also provides reasons for supposing. It was carved about 440 and does not yet possess the psychological element present in works certainly by Alkamenes.

LEANING ATHENE: S. Karouzou, 'Two Statues on a Vase', *Feilich K. Lehmann*, 1964, 157. According to Schlorb U, 18, a cult statue in the Ares temple, as a work of Agorakritos alongside the thirty year later Ares of Alkamenes; this sounds paradoxical, yet it cannot be denied that the over life size torso of Athene from the agora and the sculptural decorations of the temple of Ares do show the influence of Agorakritos.

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AGORAKRITOS: Lippold, 187-9. P. Zanetti Montusoro, 'Repliche romane di una statua fidiaca', *Bull. Com.*, 61, 1943, 23-38. K. Schtold, 'Agorakritos', *Fraunberg für R. Hebringer* (1957), 541-72. M. T. Marabini Mores, *F. A. I.*, 1, 1958, 146-8. A. Andren, *Rend. Pont. Acc.*, 35, 1962-64, 27-48.

AGORAKRITOS ON THE PARTHENOS: E. Buschor, *Phidias der Mensch* (1948), 115-20. E. Homann-Wedeking, 'Anonymi am Parthenon', *J.M.*, 26, 1961, 107-14, suspects that he is the sculptor of the west pediment. Against this see above 129f. From the Oreithya of the west pediment, which S. Karouzou, 'Ein Akroter klass. Zeit', *J.M.*, 77, 1962, 185, has shown to be certainly by Agorakritos, the powerful central group stands out as the work of Phidias.

GRAVE RELIEF WITH THE CAT: Schlorb U, 211, note 64-74, repeats some of the reasons for my attribution and early dating (*R. Hebringer Festschrift* (1957), 551); Neumann, note 131, again dates it to after 450, without recognizing that such an old-fashioned relationship between body and drapery is no longer possible in a work of the first rank after the Parthenon frieze. He interprets the gesture as a greeting (note 136). E. Langlotz, *Veritt. Neger* (1957), plate 21, suspects that a relief in the Villa Albani represents a metope of the temple of Nemesis; most recently S. Karouzou, 'Ein Akroter klass. Zeit', *J.M.*, 77, 1962, 182-6. Schlorb U, 58, note 39, doubts this attribution, in accordance with W. H. Dinsmoor, *Heperia*, 30, 1961, 179; stylistically the relief certainly belongs rather to Rhamnus than to southern Italy.

AKROTERION AND PEDIMENT OF THE TEMPLE OF NEMESIS: Karouzou, *ibidem*, 178-90 (with a history of Oreithya statues). Schlorb U, 47. Her tracing back of the Aphrodite Doria to Nemesis (22-26) seems to me to come to grief on the solemn attitude of the relief on the base and Pausanias' description, she wrongly opposes Buschor's dating to the time of the Nike balustrade. But the ascription to Agorakritos has now been fully confirmed by S. Karouzou, *ibidem*, 185f.

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HEGESO: most recently, Schlorb U, 31, 36, 47, who underestimates the work and puts it after 400; it precedes the momentary character of the relief of 408 and the new plasticity of the Dexileos relief and cannot possibly be contemporary with the Hippomachos and Ktesileos reliefs, which are to be placed shortly after 400 (Diepolder, *ibidem*, plate 20, 22f.).

KALLIMACHOS: if we compare sculptor B of the Nike balustrade, in whom, with Schlorb U, 49, we recognize Kallimachos, with the new Attic Marnadi, which

- W. Fuchs, *Neuatt. Reliefs* (1950), 73-90, has finally traced back to this master, we can see how much the original has been altered to a flatter, decorative, Roman style, and thus how little suited these reliefs are to provide the basis for further ascriptions. The Aphrodite of Fréjus, attributed by Schlörb U, 45, and Fuchs to Kallimachos, lacks this sculptor's powerful articulation: Lippold, 168, plate 60, 4. *Archiv. español Arg.*, 1955, 22. *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 81, 1957, 436. Cf. also *Mus. Helv.*, 20, 1963, 60.
- PAGE 175 PHIGALIA: the sculptures were influenced rather by Agorakritos than by Kallimachos, of whom Schlörb U, 46-49 thinks; but the workshop that executed them was Dorian. So there is a link here between Ionian and Dorian manners, as there is in the case of Paionios, but the differences seem to me to be too big to allow us to regard Paionios as the chief sculptor, with Ch. Hofkes-Brukker (see note to appx. pl. 29).
- PAGE 181 COLONNADE OF ZEUS: most recently, Schörb U, 50, plate 8.
- PAGE 182 GJÖLBASCHI: Architectural scheme patterned on that of the Theseum in Athens: H. A. Thompson, *AJA*, 69, 1965, 177.
- PAGE 183 ODYSSEY LANDSCAPES: K. Schefold, *Pomp. Malerei* (1952), 82f. P. H. von Blanckenhagen, 'The Odyssey Frieze', *RM*, 70, 1963, 100-46. A. Gallina, *Le pitture con paesaggi dell'Odissea* (1964). H. Wölfflin, *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* (1915), 20-79. The pedimental sculptures showing battles of giants or Centaurs from Masi in Patras, given too late a date by Picard 4. 115of. and Schlörb T, 56f., also belong to the Rich Style, soon after 400.
- PAGE 184 CHARACTER OF THE LATE CLASSICAL PERIOD: W. Jäger, *Paideia*, 2 (1944), 3 (1947). T. B. L. Webster, *Art and Literature in Fourth-Century Athens* (1956). 'Connection of the PLATONIC IDEA with the dominating formal tendency of Greek art': W. Jäger, *Paideia*, 1 (1934), 11, with a reference to Cic. *Or.*, 7-10. Picard, 4, 393-410 on the proximity to Praxiteles. In particular, the transformation of Greek myth in the late classical period is connected in many ways with Platonic ideas; the most recent contribution on this subject is P. H. von Blanckenhagen's 'Two Horses and a Charioteer', in J. Cropsey, *Ancients and Moderns* (1964), 88-94; here O. Jahn could have been mentioned, who first traced the Eros-Psyche myth back to Plato's *Phaedrus*. Cf. K. Schefold, *Orient, Hellas and Rome* (1949), 156f. Idem, *Gymnasium*, 61, 1954, 288, 9 and H. Metzger, *Les représentations* (1951).
- PAGE 186 Statue of AESCHINES: K. Schefold, *Bildnisse* (1943), 102f. Heracles Farnese: idem, *Basler Antiken in Bild* (1958), 38-40, plates 30c, 31. L. Curtius, 'Grablekythos in München', *Münchner Jb.*, 1911, 173-81.
- PAGE 187 TIMOTHEOS: Athene in cloak: Lippold 232, 7. Schlörb T, 60-63.
- MARBLE THRONE of 355/4: G. M. A. Richter, 'The Marble Throne', *Am. Journ.*, 58, 1954, 271-6, with bibliography, to which should be added H. Möbius, *Ornamente* (1929), 34, 9. The inscription can only refer to the archon of 355/54, for the dating of a copy by an archon of the Roman period, as suggested by G. Richter, would be quite unparalleled.
- PAGE 188 STRENGTHENING OF THE FORTIFICATIONS: D. Ohly, *Deltion*, 17, 1961/2, Chron. 19f. G. Gruben, *Deltion*, 18, 1963, 25-27. K. Vierneisel, *Archäolog. Anzeiger*, 1964, 422.
- PAGE 190 SARCOPHAGI from the necropolis of Sidon: Lippold, 115, 1. 207, plate 75, 1. 210, plate 75, 2. 231, plate 82, 1. 288, plate 82, 2. E. Kukahn, *Anthropoide Sarkophage in Beyrouth* (1955). I. Kleemann, 'Der Satrapensarkophag', *Ist. Forschungen*, 20, 1958. TERRACOTTAS: G. Kleiner, *Tanagrafiguren* (1942). B. Neutsch, 'Studien zur vor-tanagraischen Koroplastik', 17. Suppl. fasc. to *JdI* (1952). D. B. Thompson, 'Three Centuries', *Hesperia*, 21, 1953, 156-8; 23, 1954, 72-107.
- TOREUTICS: Athens: W. Züchner, 'Der Berliner Mänadenkrater', 98 *BWPr.*, 1938; on this, K. Schefold, *Gnomon*, 1939, 331-3. D. B. Thompson, 'Mater Caelaturae', *Hesperia*, 8, 1939, 285-316. Idem, *Miniature Sculpture* (1959), figs. 27-30. H. Thompson, 'Activities', *Hesperia*, 24, 1955, 68f., plate 31c. S. Karouzou, 'Attic

- Bronze Mirrors', *Robinson Studies* (1951), 586f. G. M. A. Richter, 'Greek Fifth-Century Silverware', *Am. Journ.*, 54, 1950, 357-70. Idem, 'Calenian Pottery and Classical Greek Metalware', *ibidem*, 63, 1959, 241-9.
- CORINTH: W. Züchner, 'Griech. Klappspiegel', 14. Suppl. fasc. to *JdI* (1942).
- TARENTUM: H. Klumbach, *Tarentiner Grabkunst* (1937). L. Bernabó Brea, 'I rilievi tarantini in pietra tenera', *Rivista Ist. Arch.*, 1952, 1-249. R. Lullies, 'Vergoldete Terrakotta-Appliken aus Tarent', *RM*, 7. Suppl. fasc. (1962).
- METAL RELIEFS from northern Greece, Thrace and South Russia: B. Filow, *Die Grabhügelnekropole bei Duwanlij* (1934). E. Simon and H. Cahn, 'Der Goldschatz von Panagjuriste; eine Schöpfung der Alexanderzeit', *Antike Kunst*, 3, 1960, 3-29. G. Roux, 'Meurtre dans un sanctuaire', *Antike Kunst*, 7, 1964, 30-41. Cf. appx. pl. 52.
- PAGE 192 MIRRORS: W. Züchner, 'Klappspiegel', *ibidem*. K. Schefold, 'Der Ursprung der späten Klassik', *AA*, 1954, 289-304.
- IVORY VENEERS: Pfuhl, para. 786f., fig. 626f. Chr. Chairmont, *Das Parisurteil* (1951), k. 179. On the dating, K. Schefold, *Untersuchungen* (1934), 99f.
- PAGE 194 THESEUS OF HERCULANEUM: P. Herrmann, *Denkmäler*, plate 81. K. Schefold, *Pomp. Malerei* (1952), plate 47. Idem, *Pompeji* (1956), plate 5.
- PAGE 202 LEDA OF TIMOTHEOS: Lippold, plate 79, 3. Picard, 3, 365-71, plate 6. Schlörb, 51-56.
- PAGE 203 AEOLIAN CAPITAL in applied art instead of the Ionian: K. Schefold, 'Das äolische Kapitell', *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, 31, 1938, 42, 52. This explanation is misunderstood by Ph. Oliver-Smith, 'Representations of Aeolic Capitals', *Essays Lehmann* (1964), 232-41.
- CORINTHIAN CAPITAL: G. Roux, *L'architecture de l'Argolide* (1961), 359-88.
- LAUREL HUT: Pausanias X, 5, 9. A. Rumpf, 'Bienen als Baumeister', *Jahrbuch Berl. Mus.*, 6, 1964, 5-8; cf. the motto above, p. 4.
- THEATRE OF EPIDAUROS: A. von Gerkan (1961). Berve-Gruben, 160f.
- PAGE 213 OLYMPIEUM: Berve-Gruben, 188-91.
- PAGE 218 Goethe, *Schriften zur Farbenlehre*.
- THUCYDIDES: K. Schefold, *Bildnisse* (1943), 76-79, 1. 204-6 on other works of Silanion; cf. also note on appx. pl. 68.
- KEPHISODOTOS: Picard, 75-125. Lippold 224; plate 83, 1. D. Mustilli, *EAA*, 4, 1961, 342-4. Bieber, 14-15.
- PAGE 221 JUPITER ENTHRONED: Lippold, 380, 8; 381. 1. Helbig, 4th ed., 176.
- LEOCHARES' ALEXANDER AND DEMETER: Lippold, 268, 8. B. Ashmole, 'Demeter of Cnidus', *Journ. Hell. St.*, 71, 1951, 13-28. Picard, 758, fig. 320 f.
- PAGE 223 APHRODITE OF ARLES: Lippold, 237, plate 83. N. Himmelmann-Wildschütz, *ibidem* (appx. pl. 59), 11.
- PAGE 224 C. Rodenwaldt, *Theoi rheia zoontes*, *Abh. Berlin*, 1943, 13 (1944).
- PAGE 226 SKOPAS: P. A. Arias (1932). Picard 3, 633-780; 4, 108-193. Lippold, 249-254. Bieber, 23-29. The Landsdowne Heracles (now in the J. P. Getty Museum, Cal.) is earlier than the late classical rhythm, which begins about 375.
- MELEAGER: H. Sichtermann, 'Das Motiv des M.', *RM*, 69, 1962, 43-51; 70, 1963, 174-7.
- PAGE 228f. EUPHRANOR: Picard 3, 853-878. Lippold, 260f. G. Bendinelli, *EAA*, 3, 1960, 531-533. N. Dacos, 'Le Paris d'E.', *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 85, 1961, 371-99.
- PAGE 230 EUPHRANOR'S ALEXANDER: Lippold, 268, 7. Picard, 4, 775-82, figs. 300f., 327f.
- EURIPIDES: K. Schefold, *Bildnisse*, 1943, 79. 2, Demetrios of Alopeke: see note on appx. pl. 70.
- PAGE 232 ATHENA OF AREZZO: Lippold, 240, 1. Bieber, fig. 47. Sardanapalus: Lippold, 242, 7.
- HERACLES: see above, note to p. 186.
- PAGE 233 LYSIPPOS' SOCRATES: K. Schefold, *Bildnisse*, 1943, 82-85. The attempts to link this type with a sitting statue (most recently, G. M. A. Richter, 'A New Portrait of Socrates', *Essays Lehmann*, 1964, 267f.) come to grief on the fact that this statue is Hellenistic, and that Socrates, like the Cynics, is characterized by standing and

walking, not by the enthronement of the teacher, as was the case with the Academics, Stoics and Epicureans; cf. K. Schefold, 'Das Bild des Weisen', *Festschrift Habnloser* (1961), 1-9.

HERACLES 'ON THE TABLE': J. Dörig, 'Lysipps letztes Werk', *JdI*, 72, 1957, 19-43. Picard, 1474. F. de Visscher, 'Héraklès Epitrapezios', *L'Ant. Class.*, 30, 1961, 67-129.

HERACLES RESTING: see above, p. 186.

ABBREVIATIONS USED IN THE NOTES

- AM = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Athenische Abteilung*.
 ARV² = J. Beazley, *Attic Red-figure Vase-painters* (2nd ed., 1963).
 Arias = P. E. Arias, *A History of Greek Vase Painting*, transl. by B. B. Shefton (1962).
 Berve-Gruben = H. Berve and G. Gruben, *Griechische Tempel und Heiligtümer* (1961).
 BA Beschav. = *Bulletin van de Vereeniging*, The Hague, 1926ff.
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 Dohrn = T. Dohrn, *Attische Plastik vom Tode des Phidias bis zum Wirken der großen Meister des 4. Jh. v. Chr.* (1957).
 EAA = *Enciclopedia dell'arte antica*, 1, 1958ff.
 JdI = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*.
 LAW = *Lexikon der Alten Welt* (1965).
 Lippold = H. Lippold, 'Die griechische Plastik', *Handbuch der Archäologie*, 3, 1 (1950).
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 Neumann = G. Neumann, *Gesten und Gebärden in der griechischen Kunst* (1965).
 Pfuhl = E. Pfuhl, *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* (1923).
 Picard = C. Picard, *Manuel d'archéologie grecque. La sculpture* (1935-1963).
 RE = *Paulys Realencyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*. Ed. by G. Wissowa, 1893ff.
 RM = *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts, Römische Abteilung*.
 Richter = G. M. A. Richter, *A Handbook of Greek Art* (1959).
 Schlörb U = B. Schlörb, *Untersuchungen zur Bildhauergeneration nach Phidias* (1954).
 Schlörb T = B. Schlörb, *Timotheos*, 22. Supp. fascicule to the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*, 1965.
 Speier = H. Speier, 'Zweifigurengruppen', *RM*, 47, 1932, 1-94.
 Schrader = H. Schrader (with E. Langlotz and W. H. Schuchhardt), *Die archaischen Marmor-bildwerke der Akropolis* (1939).
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NOTES TO THE APPENDIX OF PLATES

(The phrase 'Appx. pl.' in the margin of the text of the book refers to the following illustrations.)

- 1 - Kore. Parian marble. About 500 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Height 3 ft. $\frac{4}{5}$ in. Schrader, no. 44. Chr. Karusos, *Aristodikos* (1961), 51f. Cf. p. 73.
- 2 - Head of Athena from Aegina. Parian marble. About 470 B.C. Paris, Louvre, no. 3109. Height from chin to crown 8 in. E. Langlotz, *Frühgr. Bildhauerschulen* (1956), plate 56. Enc. Phot. 1938, 158. Lippold, 100, 15. Cf. pp. 34, 72.
- 3 - Statue of a boy, ascribed to Kritios. Parian marble. About 480 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 698. Height 2 ft. $\frac{10^2}{5}$ in. Schrader, no. 299. Lippold, 106-108. W. Fuchs, *EAÄ*, 4, 1961, 410-15. Chr. Karusos, *Aristodikos* (1961), 55 G 4. Cf. p. 20, 24, 26, 99.
- 4 - Torso of an athlete. Cyrene. Parian marble. After 480 B.C. Height 1 ft. $\frac{10^2}{5}$ in. E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene* (1959), no. 16. Cf. p. 99.
- 5-6 - Warrior and Heracles, from the east pediment of the temple of Aphaia at Aegina. Parian marble. About 485 B.C. Munich, Glyptothek. Height 2 ft. $\frac{1^3}{5}$ in. and 2 ft. $\frac{7^3}{5}$ in. E. Schmidt, *Zu den Giebeln von A.* Report 6, Congress on Archaeology (1939), 374f., plate 35a. Lippold, 99-101. Lullies-Hirmer, 50f., plates 82-87. Cf. pp. 30, 33, 71.
- 7 - So-called Leonidas. Marble statue from Sparta. Towards 480 B.C. Athens, National Museum. Height 2 ft. $\frac{7^1}{5}$ in. H. Riemann, Brunn-Bruckmann, plates 776-8. Lippold, 105, plate 32, 4. E. Buschor, *Das Porträt* (1960), fig. 65. Cf. p. 97.
- 8 - Head of Pan on a bronze herald's staff from the Acropolis. After 490 B.C. Athens, National Museum. Length 2 $\frac{1}{10}$ in. J. F. Crome, 'Kerykeia', *AM*, 63/64, 1938/9, 117-26; plate 20, 2. Cf. pp. 24, 30.
- 9 - Silenus. Tetradrachm from Aetna. 476 B.C. P. R. Franke and M. Hirmer, *Die griech. Münze* (1964), plate 11. Cf. pp. 27, 106.
- 10 - Squatting Silenus. Reverse of the tetradrachm from Naxos of 461 B.C. (Obverse: colour plate, p. 23). Franke, *ibid.*, plate 2. Cf. pp. 27, 87, 106.
- 11 - Triton with the boy Theseus(?). Clay relief from Melos. About 460 B.C. Height 5 in. P. Jacobsthal, *Die melischen Reliefs* (1931), plate 3. Cf. pp. 41, 64, 100.
- 12 - Stabbing group from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Parian marble. About 460 B.C. Height 5 ft. 6 in. Lit.: see note on plate 22. Cf. pp. 82f.
- 13 - Heracles fighting the Amazons. Kantharos by Douris. About 490 B.C. Brussels. Diameter of mouth 6 in. *ARV*, 2nd ed., 445, 256. Cf. p. 53.
- 14-15 - Ajax threatens Cassandra. Neoptolemus kills Astyanax and Priam. Calyx-crater by the Altamura painter. About 470 B.C. Boston. Height 19 $\frac{1}{5}$ in. *ARV*, 2nd ed., 590, 11. Cf. pp. 21, 63.
- 16 - Elpenor appears to Odysseus at the entrance to the underworld. Pelike by the Lykaon painter, About 450 B.C. Boston. Height 18 $\frac{4}{5}$ in. *ARV*, 2nd ed., 1045, 2. Cf. pp. 68, 117.
- 17 - Silenus. Marble relief on the city gate in Thasos. About 465 B.C. Height of the Silenus 8 ft. Lippold, 115f., and Ch. Picard, 'Les portes sculptées', *Études thasiennes*, 8, 1962, 85-111, plate 16, date it before 492. Cf. pp. 34, 100.
- 18 - Hera weds Zeus. Metope of the temple of Hera at Selinus, Palermo. Limestone, with the naked parts of Parian marble. About 465 B.C. Height 5 ft. $\frac{4^4}{5}$ in. W. Fuchs, 'Zu den Metopen des Heraion von Selinunt', *RM*, 63, 1956, 102-21; 64, 1957,

- 230 f. E. Langlotz, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen*, 1963, plates 105-8. W. Fuchs has made it look probable that the sculptures of the temple were inspired by Empedocles' purification of Selinus in 466 B.C. Hera is celebrated as the guardian of marriage. The brilliance of the designs and of the spiritual expression of the gestures is not quite matched by the execution of the details; the connection of the Athens-trained sculptor with native workshops is unmistakable. Cf. p. 109f.
- 19 - Apollo. Roman marble copy of the head of a colossal statue made about 470, possibly by Kanachos. Height 18⁴/₅ in.
K. A. Pfeiff, *Apollon* (1943), 73-75, plates 19-23. Lippold, 122, 8. E. Berger, *LAW*, art. 'Onatas', attributes it to this sculptor, because his famous colossal Apollo later stood in Pergamum and was copied in terracottas made in Asia Minor. But Pfeiff seems to me to have demonstrated the Sicyonian features of the work, and there is no link with the head of Athena from Aegina (Appx. pl. 2). The Sicyonian Kanachos, who was responsible for the famous statue of Apollo at Didyma, no doubt received further commissions after the liberation of Ionia. Cf. p. 95.
- 20 - One of the Dioscuri jumping off his horse. Parian marble. From the temple of Demeter at Locri. About 430 B.C. Naples. Height about 4 ft. 4 in.
E. Langlotz, *Die Kunst der Westgriechen* (1963), plate 122f. Cf. pp. 101, 107.
- 21 - Poseidon. Bronze statue found in the sea off Cape Artemisium. By Kalamis? About 455 B.C. Athens, National Museum. Height 7 ft. Chr. Karusos, 'Ho Poseidon tou Artemisiou', *Deltion*, 13, 1930/1, 41-104, plates 1-5.
Lippold, 131, plate 37, 3. P. Orlandini, *EAA*, 4, 1961, 291-4.
That Poseidon is represented here in the style of Zeus Soter has been explained (orally) by P. von der Mühl as stemming from the fact that the victorious Greeks worshipped him as a saviour. Cf. pp. 72, 76, 103f.
- 22 - Apollo. Roman marble copy of a bronze statue made about 455 B.C., possibly by Kalamis. Athens, National Museum. Height 5 ft. 10 in.
Lit.: see note on 27: especially K. A. Pfeiff, *Apollon* (1943), 78f., plates 27-29. *Am. Journ.*, 1960, plate 102. Cf. p. 104.
- 23 - Amazon. Roman marble copy of a bronze statue made about 445 to 440 B.C., possibly by Polykleitos. Rome, Capitol Museum. Height 6 ft. 9 in. The right arm and the left forearm, and some other parts, are modern.
Lit.: see note on colour plate, p. 136. F. Noack, 'Amazonenstudien', *JdI*, 30, 1915, 131-79; plate 6. G. M. A. Richter, 'Pliny's Five Amazons', *Archaeol.*, 12, 1959, 112-15. D. von Bothmer, *Amazons*, 1957, 216, no. 35, plate 89, 1. P. E. Arias, *Policleto* (1964), 27f. Cf. pp. 133, 138.
- 24 - Amazon. Roman marble copy of a bronze statue made about 440 B.C. by Pheidias. Tivoli, Hadrian's Villa. Height about 6 ft. 8 in.
Lit.: see note on colour plate, p. 125 and Appx. pl. 23: esp. G. Becatti, *Problemi* (1951), plates 89-91. Cf. pp. 133, 138.
- 25 - Amazon. Roman marble copy of a bronze statue made about 435 B.C. by Kresilas. Berlin, Pergamonmuseum. Height 6 ft. 1 in.
Lit.: on Kresilas: Lippold, 172-4. Picard, figs. 242-3.
P. Orlandini, *EAA*, 4, 1961, 405-8. W. H. Schuchardt, 'Bronzestatuetten des Merkur', *Antike Plastik*, 1 (1962), 33-38.
E. Bielefeld, *ibid.*, 39-40. Amazon: see note on Appx. pl. 23. Cf. pp. 133, 138f.
- 26-27 - Left: group of gods and (27) central group from the east frieze of the Hephaesteum at Athens. Before 432 B.C. Height 2 ft. 10 in. Pentelic marble. The central group is still uninterpreted; one would expect an Attic legend, such as Theseus fighting with the sons of the Titan Pallas; but what fight between smaller warriors is going on to one side round the gods, who are watching the giants?
B. Sauer, *Das sog. Theseion* (1890). E. Buschor, in Furtwängler-Reichhold, 3, 301. Lippold, 157-9; plate 57, 1. 2. H. Koch, *Studien zum Theseustempel*, 1955. H. Riemann, 'Die Planung', *Festschrift Schuchardt* (1960-), 185-98. Berve-Gruben, 186-8. H. A. Thompson, 'The Sculptural Adornment of the Heph.', *Am. Journ.*, 66, 1962, 339-47. Schlörb U, 61f. E. Diehl, 'Ein klassisches Bild des Hephaistos', *Archäolog. Anzeiger*, 1963, 748-55. Ch. Morgan, 'The Sculptures of the Hephaisteion', *Hesperia*, 31, 1962, 210-35.

- K. Jeppeson, 'Bild und Mythos an dem Parthenon', *Acta Arch.*, 34, 1963, 49f. Cf. pp. 160, 169.
- 28 - The Centaurs stamp the invulnerable Kaineus into the earth. Detail from the west frieze of the Hephaestum; cf. note on Appx. pl. 26. Height 2 ft. 10 in. Cf. pp. 161, 169.
- 29 - Lapith prevents a Centaur from overpowering the Lapith women who have fled to the cult statue of Artemis. Detail from the marble frieze of the temple of Apollo at Bassae, near Phigalia in Arcadia. About 420 B.C. Height 2 ft. 1 1/2 in. Lippold, plate 71, 1. H. Kenner, *Der Fries des Tempels von Bassae*, 1946. W. B. Dinsmoor, *Am. Journ.*, 60, 1956, 401-52. Ch. Hofkes-Brukker, *BA Beschav.*, 34, 1959, 1-39; 36, 1961, 1-40; 37, 1962, 52-60; 38, 1963, 52-83. Schlörb, 46-49. Cf. pp. 144, 157, 161, 166.
- 30 - Demeter, Kore and the Demos of Eleusis shaking hands with Athene. Relief on a marble record of 422-421. Height 2 ft. 9 in. Binneboessel, no. 5. Speier, plate 8, 9. 1. *JdI*, 42, 1927, 71, suppl. 2. Dohrn, 17f. Süsserott, 28f. Cf. pp. 111, 151, 158f.
- 31 - Athena and her treasurer by the sacred olive-tree. Relief on a marble record of 409/408. Height 3 ft. 10 in. Paris, Louvre. Binneboessel, no. 14. Speier, plate 10, 3. Süsserott, 27f.; plate 1, 1. Cf. p. 151.
- 32 - The Hera of Samos and Athene bound by a handclasp. Relief on a marble record of 403/402. Height 3 ft. 9 in. (with the inscription). Binneboessel, no. 22. Speier, *RM*, 47, 1932, plate 13, 2. Lippold, plate 73, 4. Süsserott, 28. Cf. pp. 152, 159.
- 33 - Athene and her treasurer. Relief on a marble record of 398/7. Binneboessel, no. 24. Speier, plate 15, 4. Süsserott, 3f.; plate 1, 4. On the gesture, cf. Neumann, 125ff. Cf. pp. 152, 182.
- 34 - Besieged city from the small frieze on the Nereid monument of Xanthos. Marble. 420/410 B.C. London, British Museum, 876b. Height 2 ft. 1 in. W. H. Schuchardt, 'Die Frieze des Nereidmonuments', *Athen. Mitt.*, 52, 1927, 94-161. Richter, 124. K. Schefold, 'The Origins of Roman Landscape Painting', *Art. Bull.*, 42, 1960, 87-96. Lippold, 208. Schlörb U, 44, 72, 77. Cf. pp. 150, 179.
- 35 - Battle between orientals and Greeks. From the big frieze of the Nereid monument. Marble. 420/410 B.C. London, British Museum, no. 853. Height 3 ft. 3 in. See note on Appx. pl. 34. Cf. pp. 144, 150, 179.
- 36 - Procne of Alkamenes. Pentelic marble. Athens, Acropolis Museum, no. 1358. 2789. Height 5 ft. 5 in. without the head. C. Praschniker, 'Die Prokne-Gruppe', *Oesterr. Jahresh.*, 16, 1913, 121-40. Lippold, 185. Schlörb U, 28, 6. It is more likely that the Procne is dependent on the Medea of Euripides than *vice versa*. Cf. pp. 158, 163.
- 37 - Kore from the Erechtheum (p. 173). Pentelic marble. London, British Museum. Height 7 ft. 8 in. Lippold, 192f. Schlörb U, 28, 8, connects it with Alkamenes' school, with whose spiritual character, however, I see as little affinity as with the formal aspects of this school. Richter, 123, instructively compares a Roman copy. Cf. pp. 111, 151, 159, 170, 174.
- 38 - Demeter. Marble statue at Eleusis. About 415 B.C. Height 6 ft. Lippold, 191; plate 70, 1. Most recently, Schlörb U, 39, 69, 39. Cf. p. 165.
- 39 - Aphrodite - for could a female hero be linked with Eros in such a maternal, intimate play of hands? Cast of a perished clay mould for the bronze cheek-piece of a helmet. Height 4 in. G. Rodenwaldt, 'Ein toreutisches Meisterwerk', *JdI*, 41, 1926, 191-204. Schlörb U, 19, 19. Cf. p. 161.
- 40 - Grave relief of Dexileos. Pentelic marble. 394 B.C. Athens, Keramikos Museum. Height 5 ft. 10 in. Conze, *Die att. Grabreliefs* (1893-1922), 1158; plate 248. Süsserott, 40f. Lippold, plate 80, 1. Dohrn, 127ff.; plate 12. Schlörb U, 62. Bieber, 9. Cf. pp. 154, 202, 216.
- 41 - Above: Penelope with maids and Odysseus, who storms up to fight the wooers. Below: the carrying off of a wounded man and people defending themselves (including, on the right, Atalanta) from the hunt of the Calydonian boar. Cf. pp. 144, 150, 154, 182 and Appx. pl. 42.
- 42 - Central scene from the siege of Troy (?). Relief from the Heroon at Gjölbäsk. 400/390 B.C. Vienna, Antikensammlung. Height 3 ft. 8 in.

- F. Eichler, *Die Reliefs des Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* (1950). Lippold, plate 76, 3. Schlörb, 44, 72, 78. Richter, 125. Cf. pp. 144, 150, 154, 182f.
- 43 - Battle with Amazons. Marble metope of the tholos at Delphi. 390/380 B.C. Height 2 ft. 2 in. P. Bernard and J. Marcadé, 'Sur une métope de la tholos de Marmaria à Delphes', *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 85, 1961, 447-73, plate 12. Cf. p. 121.
- 44 - Nike. Roof akroterion of the east pediment of the temple of Asclepius at Epidaurus. Pentelic marble. About 375 B.C. Athens, National Museum, no. 162. Height of upper part of body 10 in. J. F. Crome, *Die Skulpturen des Asklepiostempels von E.* (1951), 27-29; plate 11. Cf. pp. 175, 202.
- 45 - Discus-thrower walking up. Marble copy of a bronze statue made after 390-380 by Naukydes. Rome, New Museum. Height 4 ft. 4 in. Lippold, 199; plate 68, 2. F. Willemsen, 'Mercurio et Discobolo... censetur', *Archäolog. Anzeiger*, 72, 1957, 25-31. W. H. Schuchardt, *GGA*, 1960, 177. B. Conticello, *EAA*, 5, 1963, 362-5. Bieber, 11. Cf. p. 216.
- 46 - Zeus. Roman marble copy from Cyrene of Leochares' Zeus with the thunderbolt. About 375 B.C. Height 7 ft. 7 in. K. Schefold, 'Ante cuncta laudabilis', *RM*, 57, 1942, 254-6. Leochares: Lippold, 268-71. Picard, 4, 754-854. G. Donnay, 'Un sculpteur grec méconnu: Léocharès', *Gazette des Beaux-Arts*, 1959, 5-20. P. E. Arias, *EAA*, 4, 1961, 565-6. E. Paribeni, *Catalogo delle sculture di Cirene*, 1959, plate 106, no. 185. J. Charbonneau, 'Le Zeus de Léocharès', *Mon Piot*, 53, 1963, 9-17. Cf. pp. 132, 184, 220.
- 47 - Zeus. Tetradrachm of the Arcadian League. 370-362 B.C. P. R. Franke and M. Hirmer, *Die griech. Münze* (1964), plate 159, below, right. Cf. pp. 132, 184, 219, 220, 234.
- 48 - Head of Serapis. Roman marble copy of the statue by Bryaxis. Height about 12 in. About 340 B.C. Lippold, plate 73, 3. K. Schefold, *Griech. Kunst als relig. Phänomen* (1959), 116, 123; plate 14b. H. Jucker, 'Ein Kopf des Serapis', *Genava*, 8, 1960, 113. Th. Kraus, 'Alexandrin. Triaden', *Mitt. Kairo*, 19, 1963, 97-105. M. Bieber, *Am. Journ.*, 1963, 96. H. Hoffmann, 'Oscillum', *Jb. Hamburg*, 8, 1963, 212f. Cf. pp. 229f.
- 49 - Athena, Peloponnesos and Zeus. Relief on a marble record of 362/1 B.C. Athens, National Museum. Height 19½ in. Binneboessel, no. 36. Speier, plate 21, 1. Süsserott, 52-55; plate 4, 1. Cf. pp. 187, 219.
- 50 - Demos (people) of Athens, Corcyra and Athena. Relief on a marble record of 375/4 B.C. Athens, National Museum. Height 14½ in. Binneboessel, no. 34. Speier, plate 292. Süsserott, 47-51; plate 3, 2. L. Curtius, *Münchner Jb.*, 1911, 180f. Cf. pp. 186, 188, 194, 220.
- 51 - Athena, Apollonia(?), Apollo. Relief on a marble record of 355/4 B.C. Palermo, Mus. Naz. Binneboessel, no. 41. Speier, plate 21. Süsserott, 56-58; plate 4, 2. Cf. p. 187.
- 52 - Princes of the Bosphorus. Relief on a marble record of 347/6 B.C. Athens, National Museum. Height 2 ft. Binneboessel, no. 53. Speier, plate 22, 1. Süsserott, 58-60; plate 4, 3. Cf. p. 188.
- 53 - Frieze slab from the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. Marble. About 350 B.C. London, British Museum. Height 3 ft. Lit.: see note on colour plate, p. 209. Also G. Donnay, 'L'amazonomachie du Mausolée', *L'Ant. Class.*, 26, 1957, 383-403. More or less contemporary is the Ionic frieze with the deeds of Theseus from the Pythion(?) in Delos: Picard, 4, 1144-6. Cf. pp. 187, 210.
- 54 - Bronze crater, partly silvered, with the retinue of Dionysus. About 340 B.C. Saloniki, Archäolog. Museum. Height 3 ft. G. Daux, 'Derveni', *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 87, 1963, 802; plate 18. A later dating is ruled out by the high band and the difference in style from the treasure of Panagürischte from the Alexandrian period. Cf. note on p. 190.
- 55 - The personification of the Olympian Games (left) looks down at victorious boxers. Panathenaic amphora of 340 B.C. New York. Height 2 ft. 8 in. C. V. A. Hoppin Collection (USA 6) III H f, plate 6, 2. Speier, plate 24, 1. Süsserott, 80-83; plate 4, 4. Cf. p. 188.

- 56 - Democracy crowns Demos (cf. note on Appx. pl. 30). Relief above a marble record of 336 B.C. Athens, Agora Museum. Height of stele 3 ft. 1 in.
H. A. Thompson, *The Athenian Agora* (1962), 12 ff.; plate 8. B. D. Merritt, 'Greek Inscriptions', *Hesperia*, 21, 1952, 355-9; plate 90, 5. Cf. p. 188.
- 57 - Worshippers before a god resembling Asclepius and Artemis Bendis. Relief over a marble record of 329/328. Copenhagen, Glyptothek Ny Carlsberg, no. 211. Height 2 ft. 9 in. Binneboessel, no. 66. Speier, plate 28, 1. Susserott, 62-94, plate 9, 2. Cf. pp. 188, 222.
- 58 - In the presence of Athena, Demos (cf. note on Appx. pl. 30) crowns Euphron. Relief over a marble record of 323 (or 318/7?) B.C. Athens, Epigraph. Mus. Height 1 ft. 1 1/2 in. Binneboessel, no. 68. Speier, plate 29, 1. Susserott, 67, plate 9, 4. Lippold, plate 94, 4. Cf. pp. 186, 188, 222.
- 59 - Apollo of the Belvedere type. Roman marble copy of the statue carved about 125 by Leochares to stand in front of the temple of Apollo in the market place of Athens. Basel, Antikenmuseum. Height 13 in.
K. Scheffold, *Basler Antiken im Bild* (1958), 17, plate 18f. Lippold, plate 98, 2. Cf. note on Appx. pl. 46. Picard, 787-811. Cf. pp. 184, 222.
- 60 - Dionysus. Roman marble copy of a statue by Leochares (?) of about 160. Basel, private ownership. Height 9 in.
K. Scheffold, 'Der Basler Dionysos', *Osterr. Jahrb.*, 11, 1957, 91-101. Idem, *Monterwerke*, 1960, no. 333. Cf. p. 222.
- 61 - Athena. Roman marble copy of the bronze Athena of the Piræus by Kephisodotos (?). Paris, Louvre, no. 530. Height 7 ft. 8 in.
Lippold, 240, 2. G. E. Rizzo, *Praxitele* (1912), plate 144. Cf. pp. 222, 224.
- 62 - Aphrodite. Plaster reconstruction of Praxiteles' statue of about 450 in Lindus, based on a marble copy of the body in the Vatican and one of the head in the Louvre. Height about 6 ft. 10 in.
H. Bulle, *Der schöne Mensch*, 2nd ed., 1913, plate 33. Chr. Blankenberg, *Kunst* (1911). Lippold, plate 83, 3. Cf. note on page 224. N. Hummelmann Wildschütz, 'Zur Kunst Aphrodite', *Marburger W.Pr.*, 1957, 11, arrives at a later dating, because he dates the lizard killer too late. According to the grave relief in Diepolder, plate 11, 2, the latter should be placed about 360. D. K. Hill, 'Statuette of Aphrodite', *Bull. Western Art Gallery*, 1964, no. 6. Cf. pp. 192, 224.
- 63 - Roman bronze statuette, based on the statue made about 460 by Syeris for the Acropolis of Athens(?). Vienna, Antikensammlung. Height 6 in.
J. Banko, 'Bronzestatuette', *Osterr. Jahrb.*, 1950, 19750, 206-8. F. Reich, 'Die Tempeldienerin des Nikomachos', *ibid.*, 199-316, plate 6. Lippold, plate 119, 2. Cf. p. 212.
- 64 - Apollo. Cult statue by Euphranor in the temple in the market place of Athens(?). About 325 B.C. Athens, Agora Museum. Height 8 ft. 1 in.
H. A. Thompson, 'The Apollo Patrons of Euphranor', *Epheia*, 1934/4, 40-44. Lippold, 260f. Richter, 144. N. Dacos, 'Le Paris d'Euphranor', *Bull. Corr. Hell.*, 81, 1961, 371-99. Cf. p. 228.
- 65 - Persephone, Triptolemus, Demeter and worshippers. Votive relief in Eleusis. Pentelic marble. After 330 B.C. Height 14 1/2 in. Lippold, plate 85, 4. Cf. pp. 190, 221.
- 66 - Bronze reconstruction of the athlete scraping himself carved by Lysippos about 330; based on the marble copy in the Vatican. Height 6 ft. 10 in.
E. Sjöquist, 'The Early Style of L.', *Opusc. Ath.*, 1, 1933, 80-97. Lippold, 276-86. W. H. Schuchardt and G. Kleiner, 'Der junge Lysipp', 'Neue Beiträge', *Beitrag zum Kunstgesch.* (1954), 222-6, 227-39. L. Vlad. Borelli, *E.A.A.*, 1, 1958, 49ff. K. A. Goulanos S. Fern, *E.A.A.*, 4, 1961, 654-60. K. Schauenburg, *Antike Plastik*, 2 (1964), 71-80. Picard, 4, 42ff. W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th ed., no. 254. J. Doerig, 'Lysippos letztes Werk', *JdI*, 72, 1957, 19-41. Biebei, 30-57. Cf. pp. 190, 194, 226, 232f.
- 67 - Grave relief from the Ilissus. Pentelic marble. After 330 B.C. Athens, National Museum. Height 5 ft. 7 in. Lippold, 251; plate 91, 2. N. Hummelmann Wildschütz, *Studien zum Iliotrelief* (1956), 11; figs. 18-20. Neumann, note 487. G. Despinis, 'Zum Motiv des Junglings', *Marburger Winckelmannspr.*, 1962, 44-52. Cf. pp. 186, 190, 222, 226, 244.
- 68 - Plato. Marble copy of the head of the bronze statue made about 370 by Silanion. In private

ownership. Height 14 in. R. Borhringer, *Platon* (1915). K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse* (1943), 74, 203. Picard 1, 191-832. Lippold, 272-4. E. Berger, *Kunstwerke*, 1963, A. 10. Cf. pp. 218, 233f. and note to p. 216.

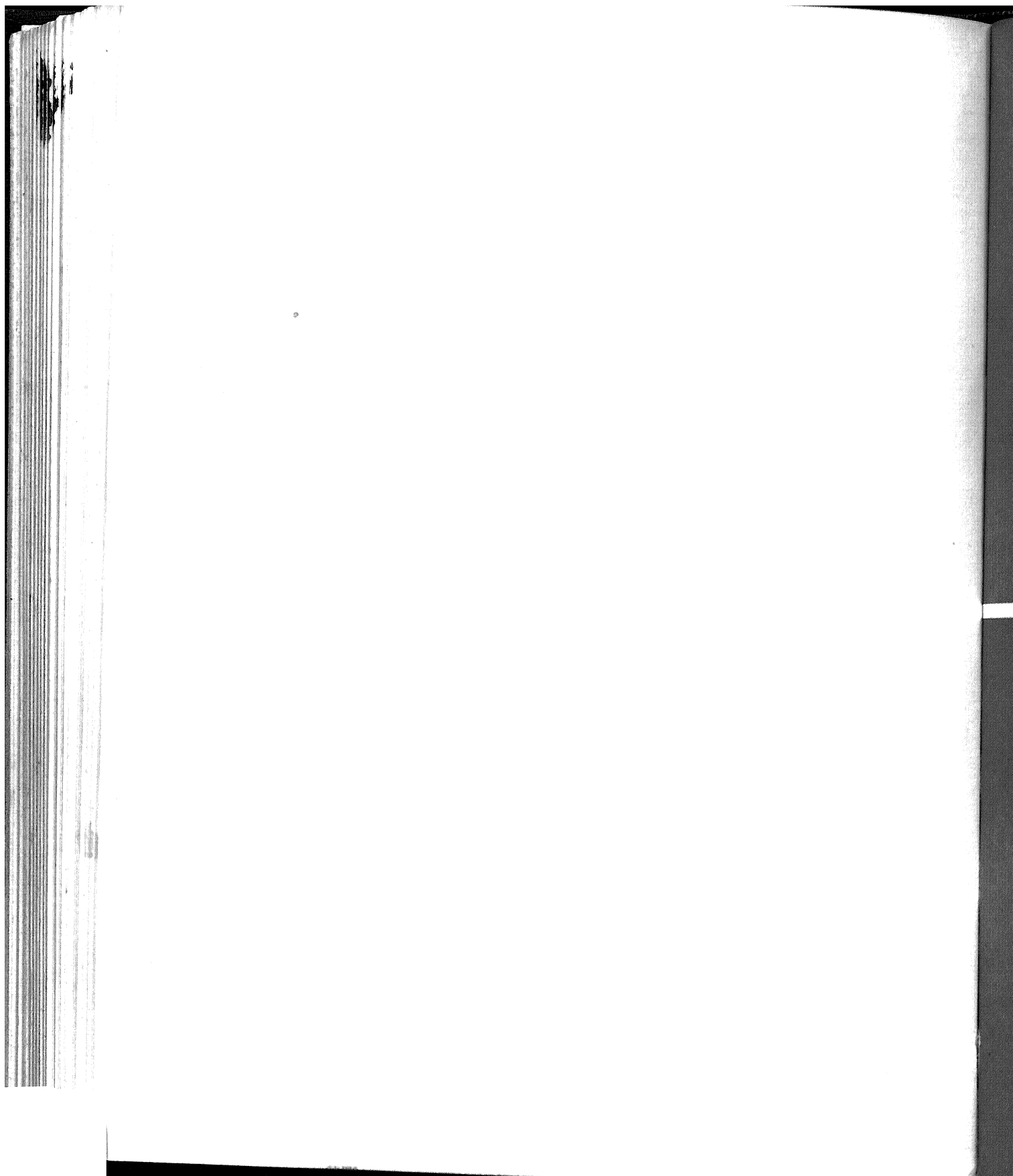
69 - Euripides. Marble copy of the head of the bronze statue made about 350 by Lysippos(?). Naples, Mus. Naz. Height 19 in.

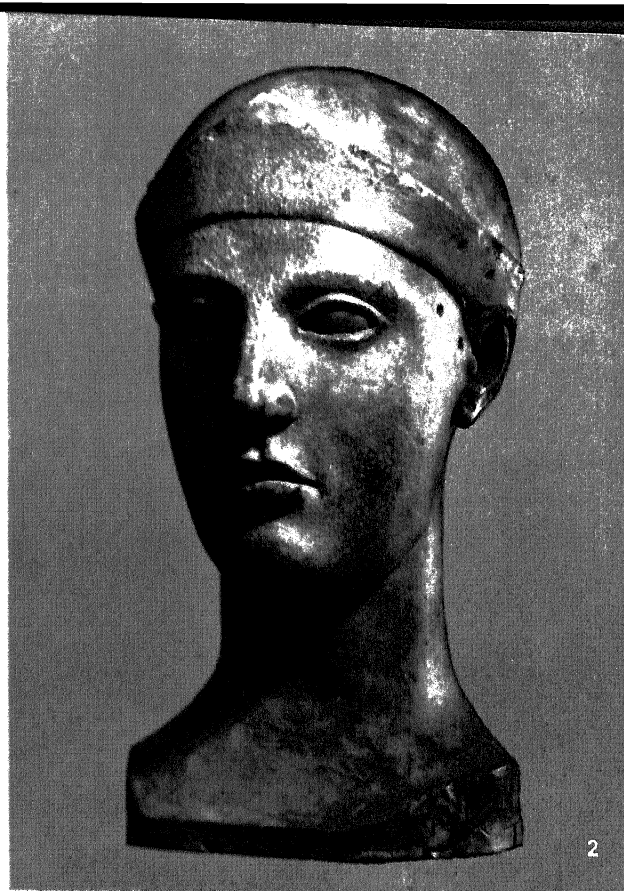
Schefold, *ibid.*, 94, 208. Idem, *Dichterbildnisse* (1965). G. Kleiner, 'Neue Beiträge', *Festschrift Schwaninger* (1954), 222-3. Picard, 191-83, fig. 289f. Cf. pp. 226, 231, 233f.

70 - Marble herm with inscription of Antisthenes (ca. 445-365 B.C.); copy of a bronze statue made about 410 B.C., possibly by Demetrios of Alopeke. Vatican.

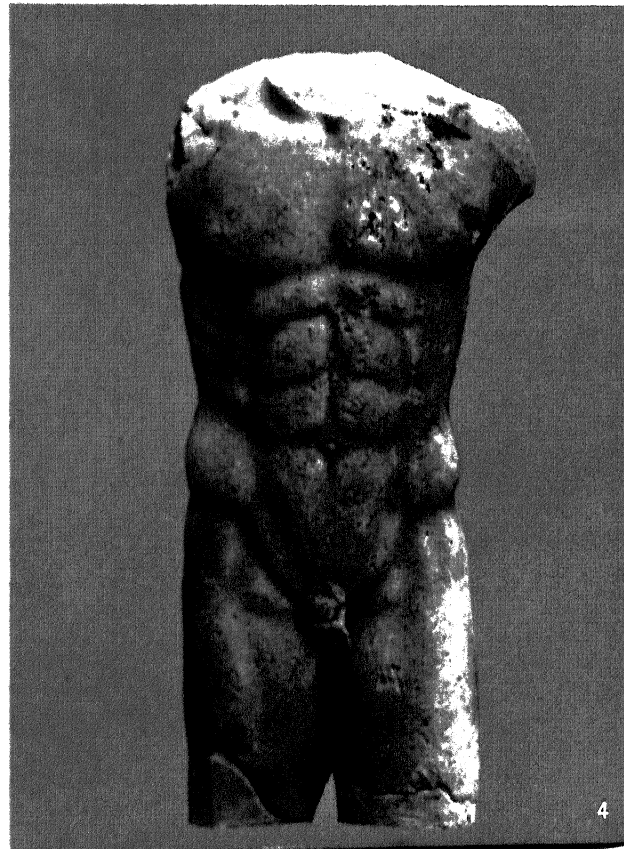
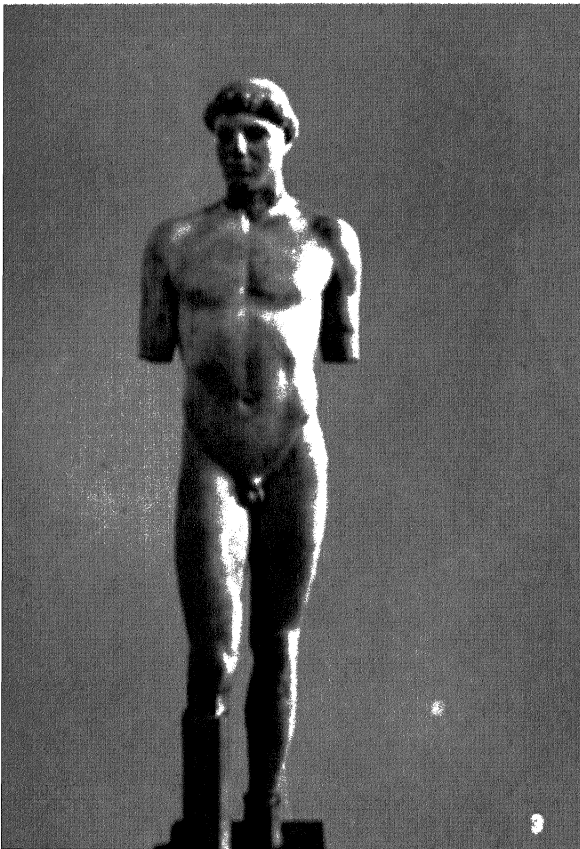
K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse* (1943), 80-81, 1, 200f. Idem, *Dichterbildnisse* (1965). W. Helbig, *Führer*, 4th ed., no. 65. Demetrios of Alopeke: Picard, 125-30. Lippold, 226. G. Cressedi, *Bildh.*, 4, 1963, 60f., no. 1, 4. H. Homann Wedeking, 'Anonymi am Parthenon', *AM*, 76, 1961, 110-12. There is a similar modelling of the eyebrows in a Satyr on the crater in Appx. pl. 44 and on coins of Pantikapaion. Franke, *ibid.*, plate 142 (cf. note on Appx. pl. 47). Cf. pp. 211, 216f.

71 - Aristotle. Marble copy of the statue made about 325 by Lysippos. Vienna, Kunsthist. Museum. K. Schefold, *Die Bildnisse* (1943), 95-99, 2, 208. Idem, *Dichterbildnisse* (1965). A. Hekler, *Bildnisse berühmter Griechen*, 4, n. 19. Picard, 681-9, plate 16, fig. 22, dispels the doubt about the attribution to Lysippos. Cf. pp. 228, 246f.

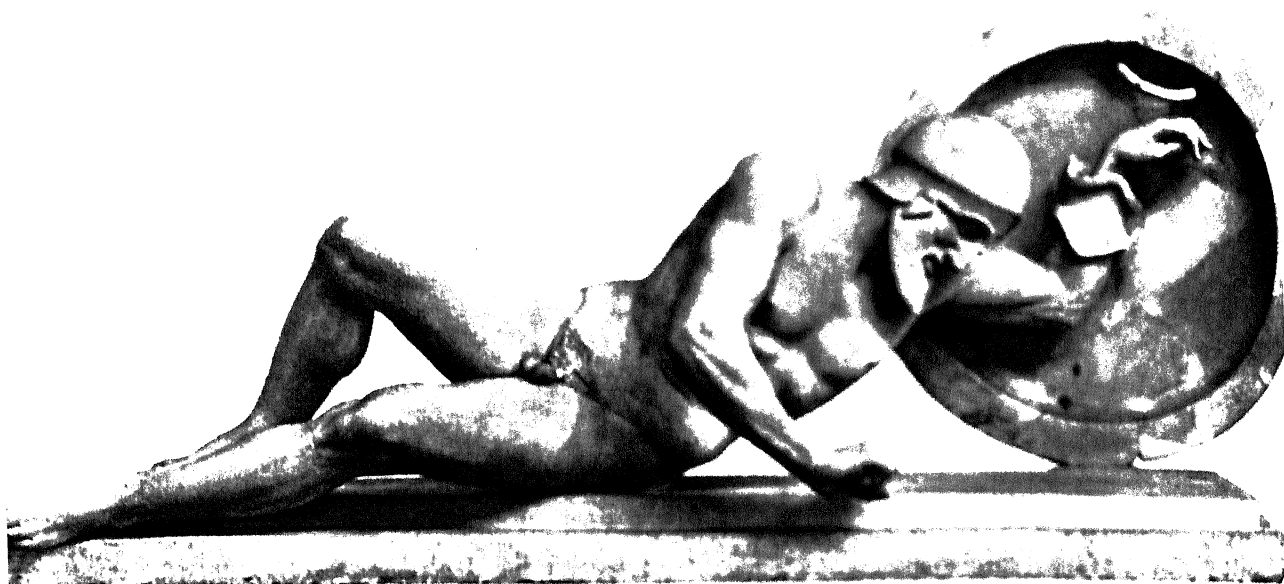




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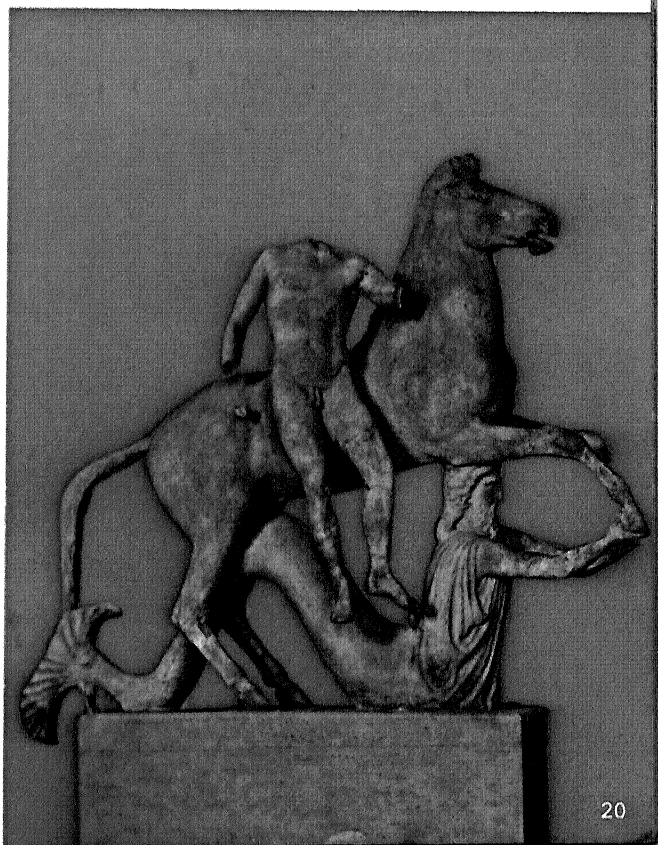
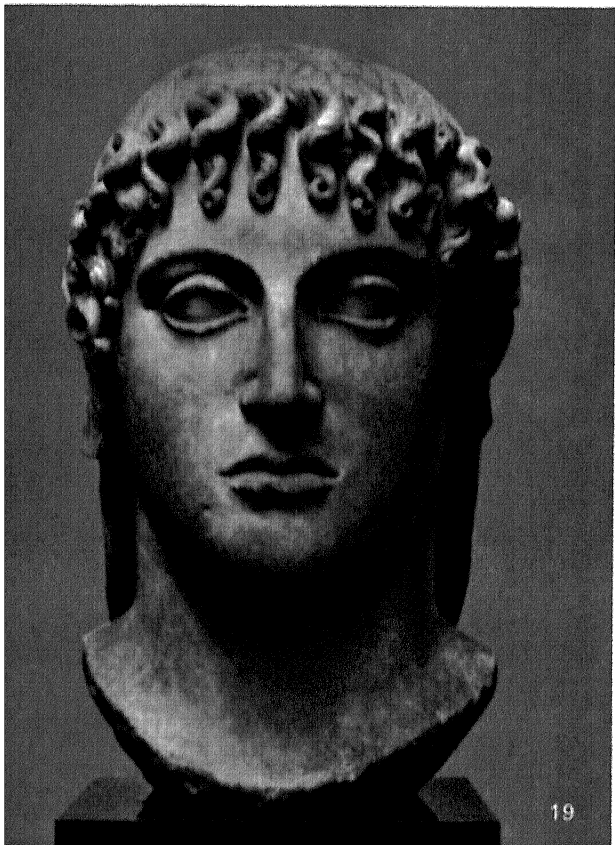


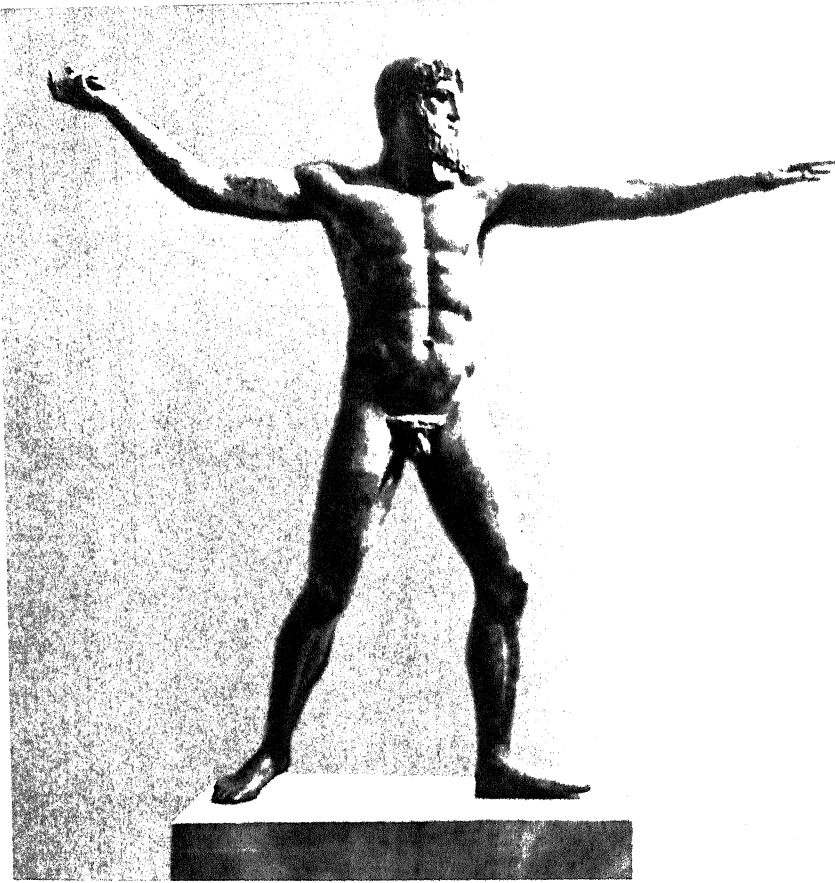
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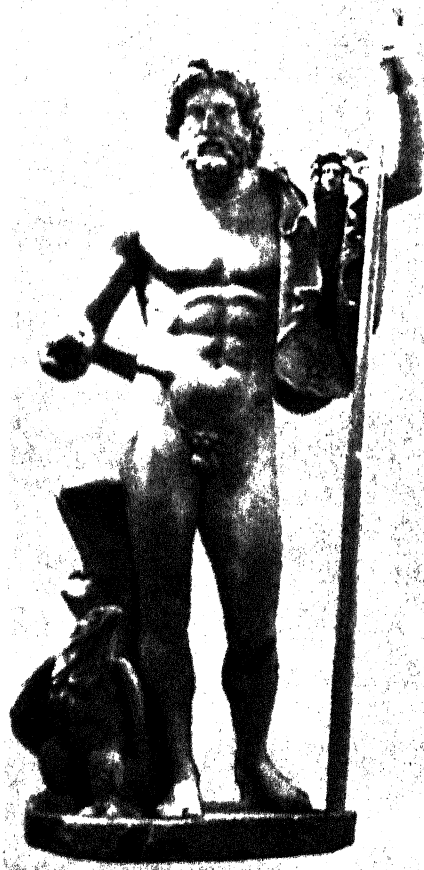


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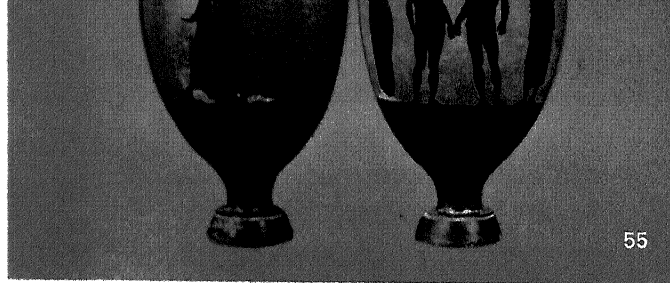








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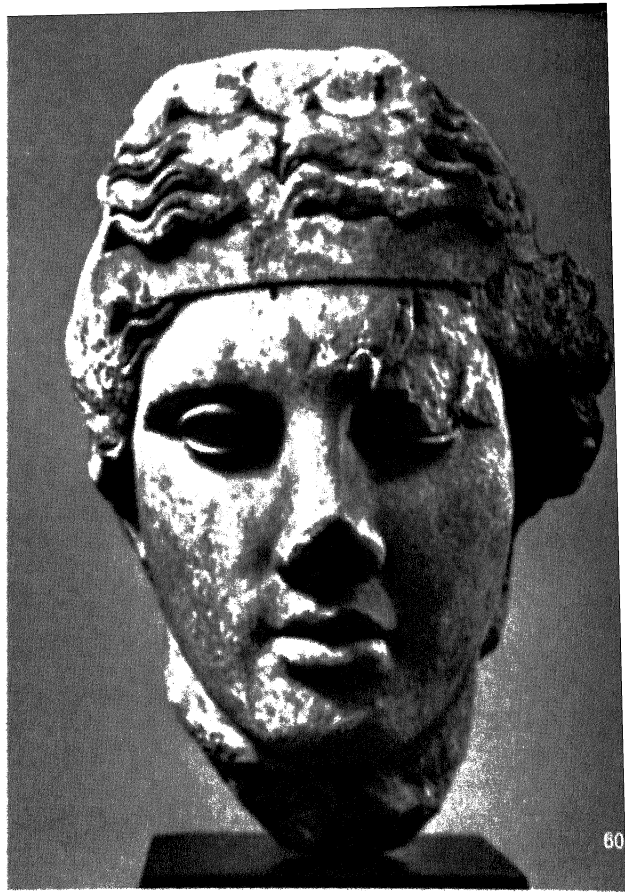
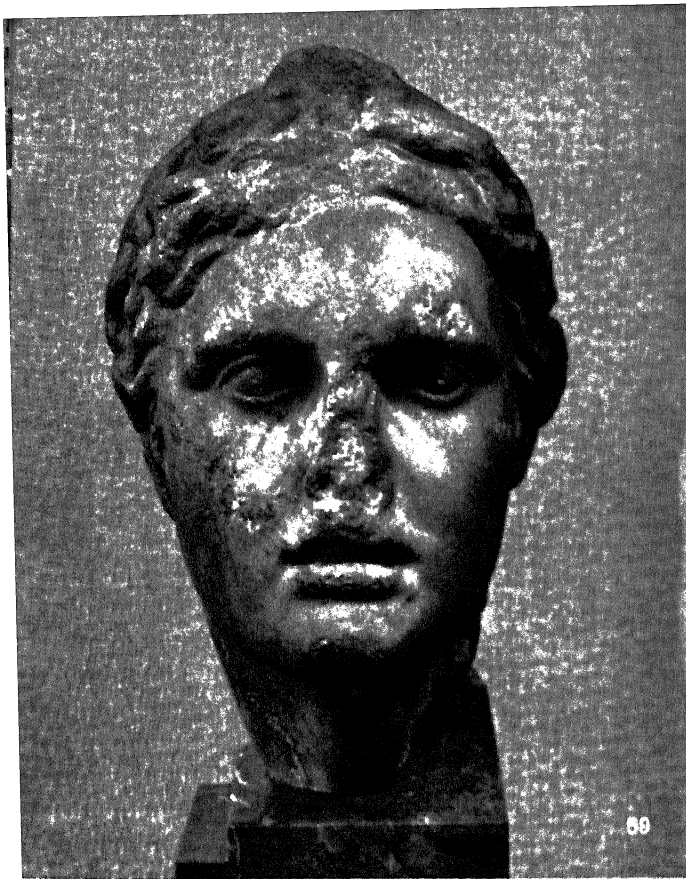
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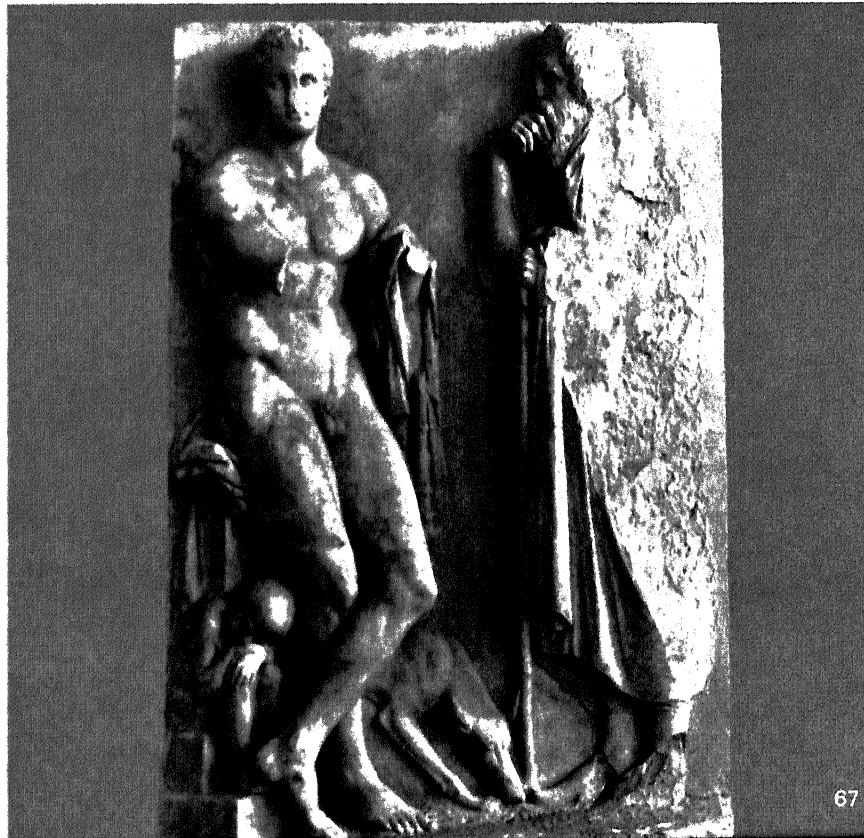
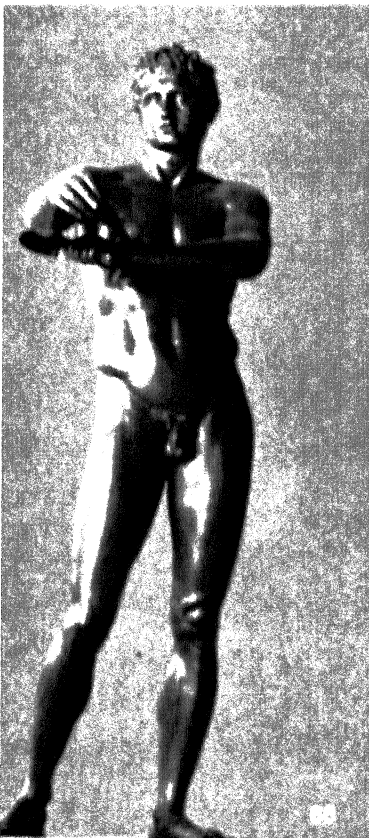


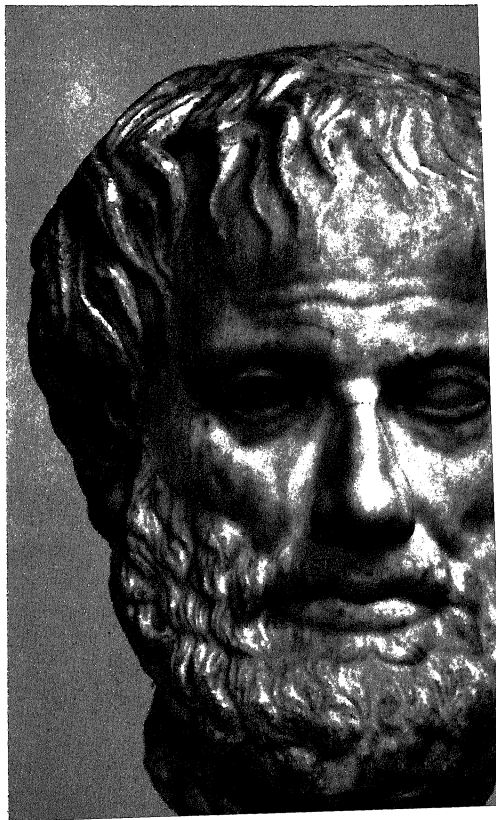
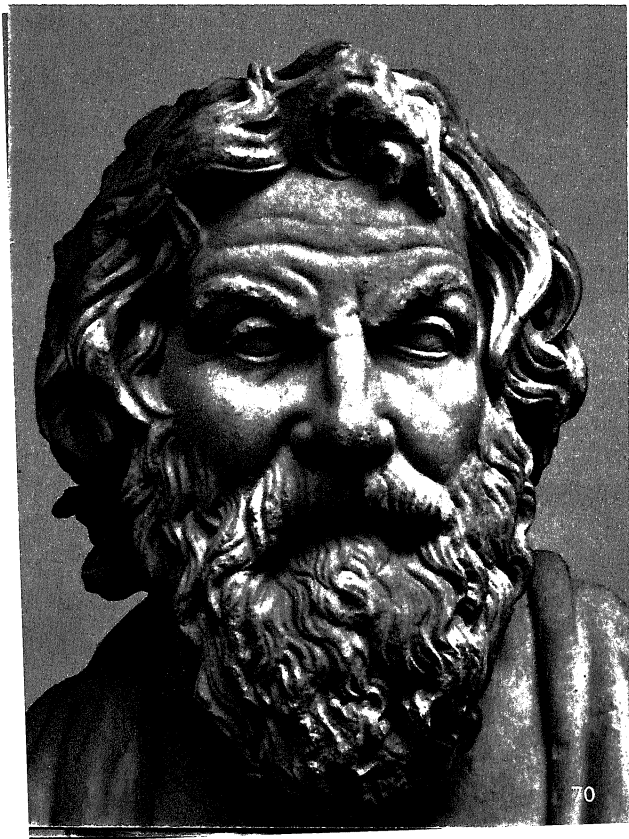
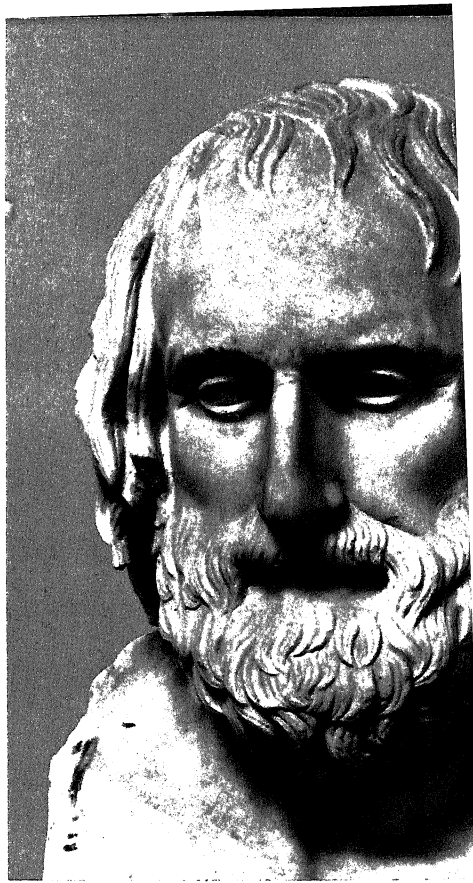
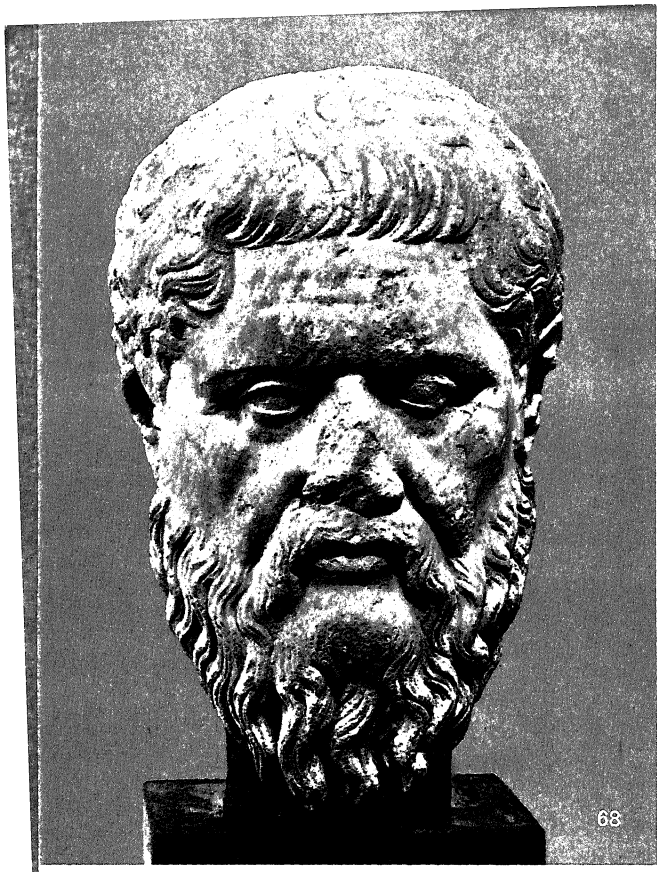
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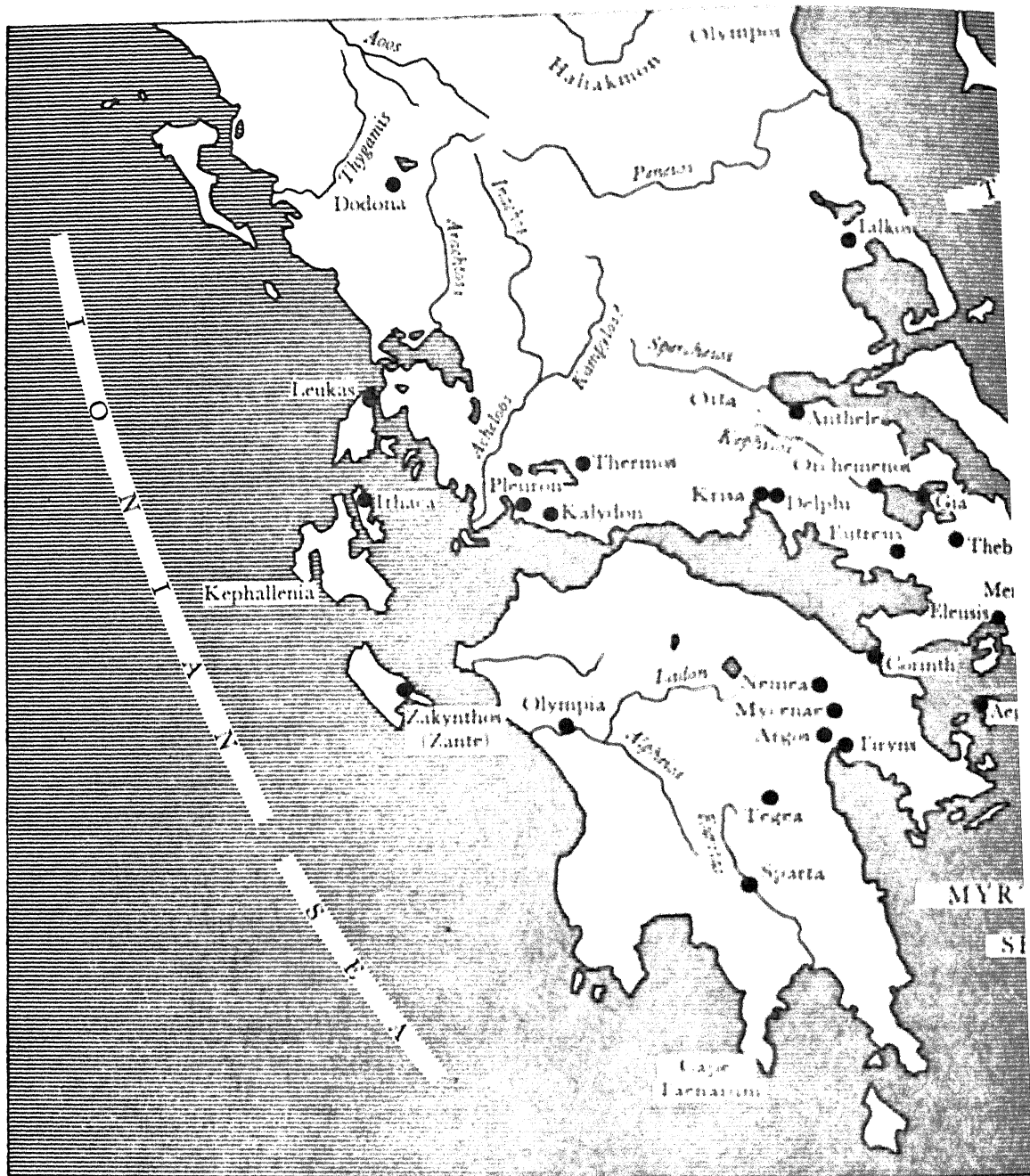




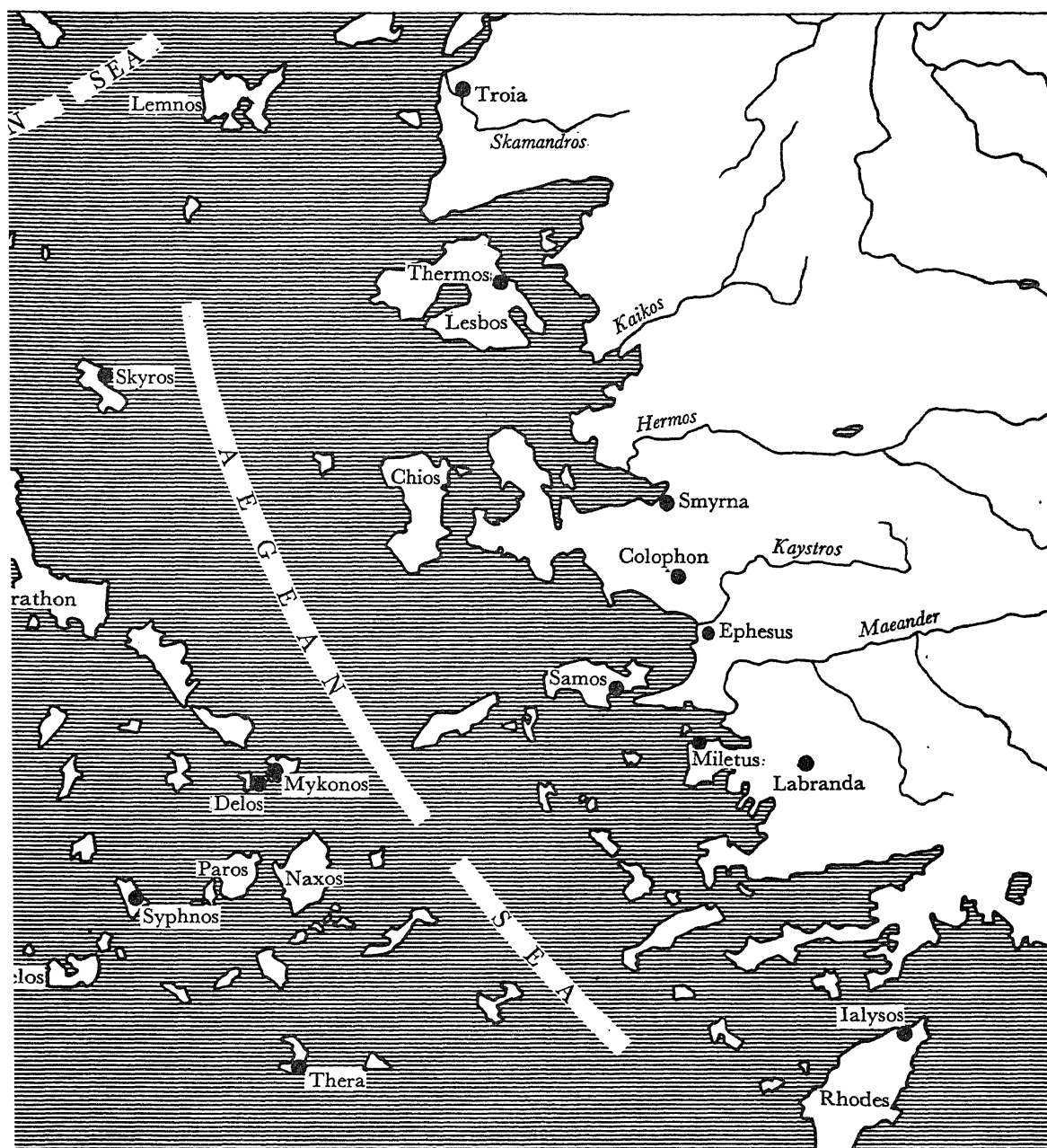
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CLASSICAL GREECE



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11-12	Heracles and Athena pour a libation: amphora by the Berlin painter. Basel. <i>ARI</i> ¹ , 2nd ed., 1634, 1, bis. Cf. Arias, 443-5. Athena pouring. Cf. p. 50-51.	50-51
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- 46 - Colossal statue of Mausolus (?). London.
Bryaxis: W. Amelung, 'Saggio', *Ausonia*, 3, 1908, 115-35. G. Lippold, 'Sarapis und
Bryaxis', *Festschrift Arndt*, 1925, 115-27. E. Buschor, *Mausolos und Alexander* (1950)
37f., 4. Lippold, 257-60. Picard, 4, 854-915. L. V. Borelli, *EAA*, 2, 1959, 196-9.
Schlörb T, 69-78, esp. note 225 and fig. 50. H. Riemann, *RE*, 24, 1963, 435-45. Cf. Appx.
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- 47 - Athlete cleaning himself: Roman copy of the statue made about 350 by Daidalos (?).
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F. Hauser, 'Eine Vermutung', *Österr. Jahreshfte*, 5, 1902, 214-16. Picard, 3, 275-95.
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- 1 - Birth of Dionysus from Zeus' thigh: lekythos by the Alkimachos painter in Boston. After J. D. Beazley, *Attic Red-Figured Vases in American Museums* (1918), fig. 83. *ARV*, 2nd ed., 533, 58. 19
- 2 - Boxer ties on his thongs: cup by the Panaitios painter in Boston. *ARV*, 2nd ed., 320, 14. Pfuhl, fig. 407. 24
- 3 - Marble statue of Nike, dedicated after the battle of Marathon, 490 B.C. Athens, Acropolis Museum. Schrader, no. 77. R. Hampe, *Die Antike*, 15, 1939, 168. A. E. Raubitschek, *Dedications* (1949), no. 13. Chr. Karouzou, *Aristodikos* (1961), 54. Cf. also Appx. pl. 8. 27
- 4 - The Tyrant-slayers by Kritios, 476 B.C. (K. Dicks' reconstruction). After K. Schefold, 'Die Tyrannenmörder', *Mus. Helv.*, 1, 1944, 189-202. A different view is taken by S. Brunnaker, *The Tyrant-slayers* (1955) (bibl.). Cf. also G. Becatti, 'I tirannicidi', *Arch. Class.*, 9, 1957, 97-107, and note on Appx. pl. 3. 30
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